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of
Watertown
(Clap of 1854)

Rec^d 12 March 1858

Ana Clara Bacon
Boston

Monterial School

Anna

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Invasion of Julius Caesar.

Vortigern and Rowena.

HUME AND SMOLLET'S

CELEBRATED

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM ITS

FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1760.

ACCURATELY AND IMPARTIALLY ABRIDGED.

AND A

CONTINUATION FROM THAT PERIOD

TO THE

CORONATION OF GEORGE IV. JULY 19, 1821.

EMBRACING

A Period of nearly Two Thousand Years.

BY REV. JOHN ROBINSON, D.D.

**Author of a Grammar of History, Archæologia Græca, Ancient and
Modern History for the Use of Schools, and a
Theological Dictionary.**

Illustrated by twenty-four pages of Engravings.

TOGETHER WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

**THE SUCCESSION OF SOVEREIGNS—EMINENT AND REMARKABLE
PERSONS WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN BRITAIN—BATTLES IN
ENGLISH HISTORY, BY SEA AND LAND, FROM 1588 TO 1806—
IMPROVEMENTS AND INVENTIONS—DISCOVERIES AND SETT-
LING OF BRITISH COLONIES.**

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PREFACE.

THE following work claims no higher merit than that of being a faithful abridgment of Hume and Smollet's Histories of England, with a continuation from authentic documents of events between the year 1760 and the coronation of George the Fourth. The author hopes that the whole will prove useful as a manual to juvenile students, for whom it is chiefly designed.

The necessity of acquiring knowledge of the history of our own country, and of public events in which Great Britain has participated, is so obvious, as to render it unnecessary to prove, that the history of their own country is a study which no British youth of either sex ought to neglect.

The author has endeavoured to divest himself of all party spirit, and, in recording the successive facts, he has allowed no prejudices of his own to intermingle with the narration. Truth, and the principles of the British constitution, have been the standards by which his labours and sentiments have uniformly been guided.

The history of Mr. Hume having obtained an unrivalled degree of literary precedence, and that of Dr. Smollet having been generally recognised as a worthy continuation from the Revolution to the demise of George II., it is reasonable that a succinct compression of these standard national works should be preferred to all others for purposes of education. But the design would have been incomplete without a continuation to

the present age ; and, though the author is aware of the delicate responsibility of becoming a contemporary historian, yet, as the duty became necessary, he has endeavoured to perform it with care and fidelity.

The tables and facts contained in the Appendix form new features of such a work as the present ; but they furnish data, from which the student will be able to draw many valuable conclusions, and will tend to illustrate and corroborate many details in the text of the History.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

The Britons—Romans—Saxons—The Heptarchy.

ALL ancient writers agree in representing the first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or Celts, who peopled that island from the neighbouring continent. Their language was the same—their manners, their government, their superstition; varied only by those small differences, which time, or a communication with the bordering nations, must necessarily introduce. The inhabitants of Gaul, especially in those parts which lie contiguous to Italy, had acquired, from a commerce with their southern neighbours, some refinement in the arts, which gradually diffused themselves northward, and spread only a very faint light over this island. The Greek and Roman navigators or merchants, gave the most shocking accounts of the ferocity of the people, which they magnified, as usual, in order to excite the admiration of their countrymen. However, the south-east parts of Britain had already, before the age of Cæsar, made the first and most requisite step towards a civil settlement; and the Britons, by tillage and agriculture, had there increased to a great multitude. The other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasture. They were clothed with the skins of beasts. They dwelt in huts that they reared in the forests and marshes, with which the country was covered. They easily removed their habitation, when actuated either by the hopes of plunder, or the fear of an enemy. The convenience of feeding their cattle was even a sufficient motive for removing their dwellings; and, as they were ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their possessions were equally limited and scanty.

The Britons were divided into many small nations or tribes; and being a military people, whose sole property

was their arms and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had acquired a relish of liberty, for their princes or chieftains to establish any despotic authority over them. Their governments, though monarchical, were free; and the common people seem to have enjoyed even more liberty among them, than among the nations of Gaul, from whom they were descended. Each state was divided into factions within itself. It was agitated with jealousy or animosity against the neighbouring states; and while the arts of peace were yet unknown, wars were the chief occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition among the people.

The religion of the Britons was one of the most considerable parts of their government; and the Druids, who were their priests, possessed great authority. They enjoyed an immunity from wars and taxes. They possessed both the civil and criminal jurisdiction. They decided all controversies among states, as well as among private persons; and whoever refused to submit to their decree, was exposed to the most severe penalties. Thus the bands of government, which were naturally loose among that rude and turbulent people, were happily corroborated by the terrors of their superstition. No species of superstition was ever more terrible than that of the Druids. Besides the severe penalties which it was in their power to inflict in this world, they inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls, and thereby extended their authority as far as the fears of their votaries. Human sacrifices were practised among them. The spoils of war were often devoted to their divinities; and they punished with the severest tortures those who dared to secrete any part of the consecrated offering. These treasures they kept in woods and forests, secured by no other guard than the terrors of their religion; and this steady conquest over human cupidity, may be regarded as more signal than their prompting men to the most extraordinary and most violent efforts. No idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendancy over mankind, as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons.

The Britons had long remained in this rude and independent state, when Cæsar, having overrun all Gaul by his victories, and being ambitious of carrying the Roman arms into a new world, then mostly unknown, took advantage of a short interval in his Gaulic wars, and invaded

Britain. The natives, informed of his intention, were sensible of the unequal contest, and endeavoured to appease him by submissions; but these retarded not the execution of his design. After some resistance, Cæsar landed, as is supposed, at Deal; and having obtained ^{B. C.} 55. several advantages over the Britons, and obliged them to promise hostages for their future obedience, he was constrained, by the necessity of his affairs, and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul. The Britons, relieved from the terror of his arms, neglected the performance of their stipulations; and that haughty conqueror resolved next summer to chastise them for this breach of treaty. He landed with a greater force; and though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons, who had united under Cassivelaunus, one of their petty princes, he discomfited them in every action. He advanced into the country; passed the Thames in the face of the enemy; took and burned the capital of Cassivelaunus; established his ally, Mandubratius, in the sovereignty of the Trinobantes; and having obliged the inhabitants to make him new submissions, he again returned with his army into Gaul, and left the authority of the Romans more nominal than real in this island.

The civil wars which ensued saved the Britons from that yoke which was ready to be imposed upon them. Augustus, the successor of Cæsar, content with the victory obtained over the liberties of his own country, was little ambitious of acquiring fame by foreign wars. Tiberius, zealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretence for his inactivity. The mad sallies of Caligula, in which he menaced Britain with an invasion, served only to expose himself and the empire to ridicule; and the Britons, during almost a century, enjoyed their liberty unmolested. In the reign of Claudius, the Romans began to think seriously of reducing them under their dominion. Without seeking any justifiable reason of hostility, they sent over an army under the command of Plautius, an able general, ^{A. D.} 43. who gained some victories, and made a considerable progress in subduing the inhabitants. Claudius himself, finding matters sufficiently prepared for his reception, made a journey into Britain, and received the submission of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and

Trinobantes, who inhabited the south-east parts of the island. The other Britons, under the command of **Caractacus**, still maintained an obstinate resistance; and the Romans made little progress against them, till **Ostorius Scapula** was sent over to command their armies. This

A. D. 50. general advanced the Roman conquests over the Britons; pierced into the country of the **Silures**, a

warlike nation, who inhabited the banks of the **Severn**; defeated **Caractacus** in a great battle; took him prisoner, and sent him to **Rome**, where his magnanimous behaviour procured him better treatment than the Romans usually bestowed on captive princes.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the spirit of the Britons was not subdued. In the reign of **Nero**, **Suetonius Paulinus** was invested with the command, and penetrated into the island of **Mona**, now **Anglesey**, the chief seat of the **Druids**. He drove the Britons off the field, burned the **Druids** in those fires which the priests had prepared for their captive enemies, and destroyed all the consecrated groves and altars. Having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons, **Suetonius** expected that his future progress would be easy, in reducing the people to subjection. But the Britons, headed by **Boadicea**, queen of the **Icena**, who had been treated in the most ignominious manner by the Roman tribunes, attacked with success several settlements of their insulting conquerors. **London**, which was already a flourishing Roman colony, was reduced to ashes; and the Romans and all strangers, to the number of seventy thousand, were massacred by the exasperated natives. Their fate, however, was soon after avenged by **Suetonius**, in a bloody and decisive battle, in which eighty thousand Britons are said to have perished; and **Boadicea**, rather than submit to the victor, put an end to her life by poison.

Julius Agricola, who governed Britain in the reigns of

A. D. 86. **Vespasian**, **Titus**, and **Domitian**, formed a regular plan for subduing this island, and rendering the

acquisition useful to the conquerors. He carried his victorious arms northwards; defeated the Britons in every encounter; pierced the forests and mountains of **Caledonia**; and reduced every state to subjection in the southern parts of the island. Having fixed a chain of forts between the friths of **Clyde** and **Forth**, he secured

the Roman province from the incursions of its ferocious neighbours.

During these military enterprises, Agricola did not neglect the arts of peace. He introduced laws and arts among the Britons; taught them to value the conveniences of life; reconciled them to the Roman language and manners; instructed them in letters and science; and endeavoured to render their chains easy. By this conduct, the inhabitants gradually acquiesced in the dominion of their masters.

To secure the Roman province from the irruptions of the Caledonians, Adrian built a rampart between the river Tyne and the frith of Solway: this was strengthened with new fortifications by Severus; and during the reigns of the other Roman emperors, such a profound tranquility prevailed in Britain, that little mention is made of the affairs of that island by any historian. The natives, disarmed, dispirited, and submissive, had lost even the idea of their former independence.

But the Roman empire, which had diffused slavery and oppression, together with a knowledge of the arts, over a considerable part of the globe, approached its dissolution. Italy, and the centre of the empire, removed, during so many ages, from all concern in the wars, had entirely lost its military spirit, and were peopled by an enervated race, equally ready to submit to a foreign yoke, or to the tyranny of their own rulers. The northern barbarians assailed all the frontiers of the Roman empire. Instead of arming the people in their own defence, the emperors recalled all the distant legions, in whom alone they could repose confidence. Britain being a remote province, and not much valued by the Romans, the legions that defended it were employed in the protection of Italy and Gaul; and that island, secured by the sea against the inroads of the greater tribes of barbarians, found enemies on its frontiers, ready to take advantage of its defenceless situation. The Picts, who were a tribe of the British race driven northwards by the arms of Agricola, and the Scots, who were supposed to have migrated from Ireland, pierced the rampart of Adrian, no longer defended by the Roman arms, and extended their ravages over the fairest part of the country. The Romans, reduced to extremities at home, and fatigued with distant expeditions, informed the Britons that they

must no longer look on them for succour; exhorted them to arm in their own defence; and urged them to protect by their valour their ancient independence. Accordingly, the Romans took a final adieu of Britain, after having been masters of the best portion of it nearly four centuries.

The abject Britons of the south, unaccustomed to the perils of war and the cares of civil government, A. D. 448 found themselves incapable of resisting the incursions of their fierce and savage neighbours. The Picts and Scots now regarded the whole of Britain as their prey; and the ramparts of the northern wall proved only a weak defence against the attacks of those barbarians. The Britons in vain implored the assistance of the Romans, in an epistle to Ætius the patrician, which was inscribed, "The Groans of the Britons." The tenor of the epistle was suitable to the superscription: "The barbarians," say they, "on the one hand drive us into the sea, the sea, on the other, throws us back on the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us, of perishing by the sword or by the waves." The Romans, however, at this time pressed by Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever assailed the empire, were unable to attend to the complaints of their allies. The Britons, reduced to despair, and attending only to the suggestions of their own fears, and to the counsels of Vortigern, the powerful prince of Dumnonium, rashly invited the protection of the Saxons.

The Saxons had been for some time regarded as one of the most warlike tribes of Germany, and had A. D. 449 become the terror of the neighbouring nations. They had spread themselves from the northern parts of Germany, and had taken possession of all the sea-coast from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland. Hengist and Horsa, two brothers, who were the reputed descendants of the god Woden, commanded the Saxons at this period. These leaders easily persuaded their countrymen to accept of the invitation of the Britons, and to embrace an enterprise in which they might display their valour and gratify their desire of plunder. They embarked their troops in three vessels, and transported to the shores of Britain sixteen hundred men, who landed in the isle of Thanet, and attacked with confidence and success the northern invaders.

Hengist and Horsa, perceiving, from their easy victory

over the Scots and Picts, with what facility they might subdue the Britons themselves, determined to fight and conquer for their own grandeur, and not for the defence of their allies. They sent intelligence to Saxony of the riches and fertility of Britain; and their representations procured for them a reinforcement of five thousand men. The Saxons formed an alliance with the Picts and Scots, whom they had been invited to resist, and proceeded to open hostility against the ~~English~~^{Britons}, whom they had engaged to protect.

The Britons, roused to indignation against their treacherous allies, took up arms; and having deposed Vortigern, who had become odious for his vices, and for the bad success of his counsels, they put themselves under the command of his son Vortimer. They ventured to meet their perfidious enemies, and though generally defeated, one battle was distinguished by the death of Horsa, who left the sole command in the hands of his brother, Hengist. This active general, reinforced by his countrymen, still advanced to victory; and, being chiefly anxious to spread the terror of his arms, he spared neither age, sex, nor condition. Great numbers of Britons, to avoid his cruelty or avarice, deserted their native country, and passed over to the continent, where, in the province of Armorica, they were received by a people of the same language and manners, and gave to the country the name of Brittany.

The British writers say, that the love of Vortigern for Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, was one cause that facilitated the entrance of the Saxons into this island; and that Vortigern, who had been restored to the throne, accepted of a banquet from Hengist at Stonehenge, where three hundred of his nobility were treacherously slaughtered, and himself detained a captive. But these accounts are not sufficiently corroborated.

After the death of Vortimer, Ambrosius was invested with the supreme command over the Britons, and united them in their resistance to the Saxons. Hengist, however, maintained his ground in Britain. He invited into this island another tribe of Saxons, under the command of his brother Octa, and of Ebissa, the son of Octa, whom he settled in Northumberland; and he founded the kingdom of Kent, comprehending Kent, Middlesex, Essex, and part of Surry, which he bequeathed to his posterity.

The success of Hengist allured new swarms from the northern coasts of Germany. The southern Britons gradually receded before the invaders, into Cornwall and Wales; and Ælla, a Saxon chief, founded the kingdom of South Saxony, comprising Sussex, and that portion of Surry which Hengist had not occupied.

The kingdom of the West Saxons, or of Wessex, was founded by Cerdic, and his son Kenric, in Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and the Isle of Wight; but it was not till after many a bloody conflict, that these adventurers enjoyed in peace the harvest of their toils. They were opposed by Arthur, prince of the Silures, whose heroic valour suspended the declining fate of his country, and whose name has been celebrated by Taliesin and the other British bards. The military achievements of this prince have been blended with fiction: but it appears from incontestible evidence, that both in personal and mental powers he excelled the generality of mankind.

Whilst the Saxons thus established themselves in the south, great numbers of their countrymen, under several leaders, landed on the east coast of Britain. In the year 575, Uffa assumed the title of king of the East Angles; in 585, Crida, that of Mercia; and, about the same time, Erkenwint, that of the East Saxons. This latter kingdom was dismembered from that of Kent, and comprehended Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire; that of the East Angles, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Norfolk; Mercia was extended over all the middle countries, from the banks of the Severn to the frontiers of those two kingdoms.

Though the Saxons had been settled in Northumberland soon after the landing of Hengist, yet they met with so much opposition from the inhabitants, that none of their princes for a long time assumed the appellation of king. In 547, Ida, a Saxon prince, who boasted his descent from Woden, and who had brought other reinforcements from Germany, subdued all Northumberland, the bishopric of Durham, and some of the south-east counties of Scotland. About the same time, Ælla, another Saxon prince, having conquered Lancashire, and the greater part of Yorkshire, received the appellation of king of Deira. These two kingdoms were united in the person of Ethelfrid, grandson of Ida, who married Acca, the daughter of Ælla; and

expelling his brother-in-law, Edwin, he assumed the title of king of Northumberland.

Thus was established, after a violent contest of nearly a hundred and fifty years, the Heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms, in Britain; under which the whole southern part of the island, except Wales and Cornwall, in a great measure mixed its inhabitants, and changed its language, customs, and political institutions. The Britons, under the Roman dominion, had made such progress in the arts and civilization, that they had built twenty-eight considerable cities, besides a great number of villages and country-seats; but the Saxons, by whom they were subdued, restored the ancient barbarity, and reduced to the most abject slavery those few natives who were not either massacred, or expelled their habitations.

After the Britons were confined to Cornwall and Wales, and no longer disturbed the conquerors, the alliance between the princes of the Heptarchy was in a great measure dissolved. Dissentions, wars, and revolutions among themselves, were the natural consequence. At length, nearly four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain, all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy were united in one great state, under Egbert, ^{A. D.} 827. whose prudence and policy effected what had been often in vain attempted. His territories were nearly of the same extent with what is now properly called England; and prospects of peace, security, and increasing refinement, were thus afforded.

The Saxons at this period seem not to have much excelled their German ancestors in arts, civilization, humanity, justice, or obedience to the laws. Christianity had not hitherto banished their ignorance, nor softened the ferocity of their manners; credulity and superstition had accompanied the doctrines received through the corrupted channels of Rome; and the reverence towards saints and relicks seemed almost to have supplanted the adoration of the Supreme Being. Monastic observances were esteemed more meritorious than the active virtues; the universal belief in miraculous interpositions superseded the knowledge of natural causes; and bounty to the church atoned for every violence against society. The sacerdotal habit was the only object of respect. Hence the nobility preferred the security and sloth of the cloister to the tumult

and glory of war, and endowed monasteries of which they assumed the government. Hence also the kings, impoverished by continual benefactions to the church, were neither able to bestow rewards on valour or military services, nor retained sufficient influence to support their government.

Another inconvenience which attended this corrupt species of Christianity, was the superstitious attachment to Rome. The Saxons were taught by the monks a profound reverence for the holy see; and kings, abdicating their crowns, sought a secure passport to heaven at the feet of the Roman pontiff. The successors of St. Peter, encouraged by the blindness and submissive disposition of the people, advanced every day in their encroachments on the independence of the English church. In the eighth century, Wilfrid, bishop of Lindisferne, the sole prelate of the Northumbrian kingdom, increased this subjection by an appeal to Rome against the decisions of an English synod. Wilfrid thus laid the foundation of the papal pretensions, which we shall find in the sequel were carried to the most disgraceful heights, and submitted to with a patience almost incredible.

CHAP. II.

From the Union of the Kingdoms of the Heptarchy under Egbert, to the Norman Conquest.

THE kingdoms of the Heptarchy appeared to be firmly united in one state under Egbert; and this union
 A. D. 827. promised future tranquility to the inhabitants of Britain. But these flattering hopes were soon overcast by the appearance of the Danes. The emperor Charlemagne had been induced to exercise great severities in Germany; and the more warlike of the natives, to escape the fury of his persecutions, had retired into Jutland. From that northern extremity they invaded France, which was exposed by the dissensions of the posterity of Charlemagne. Designated by the general name of Normans, which they received from their northern situation, they became a terror to the maritime, and even to the inland countries. In their predatory excursions they were tempted to visit England, and in their hostilities made no distinction between the French and English nations. After an unsuccessful attempt on Northumberland, they landed on the isle of Shepey, which they

A. D.
787

plundered with impunity. The next year they disembarked in Dorsetshire from thirty-five ships, and were encountered by Egbert at Charmouth, where the Danes were defeated with great loss. They afterwards entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall, and, in conjunction with their allies, made an inroad into Devonshire, where they were met at Hingesdown by Egbert, and overthrown with considerable slaughter. The death of Egbert, whose prudence and valour had rendered him a terror to his enemies, revived the hopes of the Danes, and prompted them to new efforts.

Ethelwolf, the son and successor of Egbert, possessed neither the abilities nor the bravery of his father; he was better qualified for a cloister than a throne. He commenced his reign with resigning to his eldest son, Athelstan, the provinces of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. The domestic dissensions which this partition was calculated to occasion, was prevented by the terror excited by the Danes, whose inroads were felt through Hampshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Kent. In their course they carried off the goods, the cattle, and even the wretched inhabitants; and then retiring to their vessels, they set sail to some distant quarter which was not prepared for their reception. Though often repulsed, and sometimes defeated, yet they could not be expelled. They established themselves in the isles of Thanet and Shepey, whence they constantly harassed and ravaged the adjacent coasts.

The unsettled state of England did not prevent Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome, whither he carried his fourth and favourite son, Alfred, then only six years of age. He passed a twelvemonth at Rome, in exercises of devotion, and failed not in liberality to the church. In his return home, he married Judith, the daughter of the emperor Charles the bald; but on his landing in England, he met with an opposition which he little expected. Athelstan, his eldest son, had paid the debt of nature; Ethelbald, his second, who had assumed the government, formed the project of excluding his father from a throne, for which his weakness and superstition little qualified him. Ethelwolf yielded in a great measure to the pretensions of his son: he retained the eastern, which were the least considerable, and ceded to Ethelbald the sovereignty of the western districts of the kingdom. Imme-

A. D.
838

diately after, he summoned the states of the whole kingdom, and, with the same facility of disposition, not only granted to the priesthood a perpetual right to tithes, but exempted it from all imposts and burdens.

Ethelwolf lived only two years after conferring this important grant to the church. By his will he divided England between his two eldest sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; the west being assigned to the former and the east to the latter. Ethelbald was a profligate prince, who married Judith, his mother-in-law, and whose reign was short. His death united the whole government in the hands of Ethelbert, who during five years reigned with justice and prudence, and bequeathed the sceptre to his brother Ethered.

Though Ethered defended himself with great bravery, yet, during the whole of his reign, he enjoyed no tranquility from the Danes, who landed in East Anglia, penetrated into the kingdom of Northumberland, and seized the city of York. Alfred, the younger brother, assisted Ethered in all his enterprises against the enemy. The Danes were attacked by the forces under Ethered and Alfred; and being defeated in an action, they sought shelter within the walls of Reading. Thence they infested the neighbouring country. An action soon after ensued at Aston, in Berkshire, where the English, through the good conduct of Alfred, obtained a victory. Another battle was fought at Basing, where the Danes were more successful. Amidst these disorders, Ethered died of a wound which he had received, and transferred his kingdom and the care of its defence to the illustrious Alfred, who was then twenty-two years of age.

Alfred gave early proof of his abilities, by which, in the most difficult times, he saved his country from ruin. Pope Leo the Third predicted his future greatness, by giving him the royal unction, when Alfred was on a visit to the Roman pontiff. Being indulged in youthful pleasures, his education was much neglected; but the recital of some Saxon poems awakened his native genius; and he applied himself with diligence and success to the study of the Latin tongue. From these elegant pursuits, however, he was early recalled by the danger of his country. Scarcely had he buried his brother, when he was obliged to take the field, in order to oppose the Danes,

who had seized Wilton,* and were ravaging the surrounding country. He gave them battle, and was at first successful; but pursuing his advantage too eagerly, he was oppressed by the superiority of numbers, and obliged to relinquish the field. Alfred, however, was still formidable; and though he was supported only by the West Saxons, he obliged his enemies to conclude a treaty, in which they solemnly swore to evacuate his territories. The oath was taken and violated with equal facility; and the Danes, without seeking any pretence, attacked Alfred's army, which they routed, and, marching westward, took possession of Exeter. Alfred collected new forces, and exerted such vigour, that he fought eight battles in one year, and obliged the enemy to engage that they would settle in some part of England, and not suffer more of their countrymen to enter the kingdom. Whilst Alfred expected the execution of this treaty, another body of Danes landed in this island; and collecting all the scattered troops of their countrymen, they seized Chippenham, and extended their ravages over Wiltshire.

This last event broke the spirits of the Saxons, and reduced them to despair. They believed themselves abandoned by Heaven to destruction. Some left their country, and retired into Wales, or fled beyond the sea; others submitted to the conquerors, in hopes of appeasing their fury by a servile obedience; and Alfred was obliged to relinquish the ensigns of royalty, and to seek shelter in the meanest disguises, from the pursuit of his enemies. He concealed himself under the habit of a peasant, and for some time lived in the house of a neatherd, who had formerly been entrusted with the care of his cows. In this humiliating situation, it is said that the wife of the neatherd, ignorant of the condition of her royal guest, and observing him one day busy by the fire-side, in trimming his bow and arrows, desired him to take care of some cakes which were toasting, while she was employed in other domestic concerns. However, Alfred, whose thoughts were differently engaged, forgot the trust; and the good woman, on her return, finding her cakes burnt, rated the king very severely, and upbraided him with neglecting what he was ready enough to eat.

* The real situation of Wilton has been much disputed.

Alfred, finding that success had rendered his enemies more remiss, collected some of his retainers. In the centre of a bog, formed by the stagnated waters of the Thone and Parret, in Somersetshire, he found two acres of firm ground, where he built a habitation, which he rendered secure by fortifications, and still more by the unknown and inaccessible roads that led to it. This place he called Æthelingay, or the Isle of Nobles; and thence he made frequent and unexpected sallies on the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not from what quarter the blow came. In this insulated place he was informed that Oddune, earl of Devonshire, had routed and killed Hubba the Dane, who had besieged him in his castle of Kinwith, near the mouth of the river Tau; and that he had got possession of the enchanted standard, or *reafen*, so called from containing the figure of a raven, which the Danes believed to have been interwoven by the three sisters of Hinguar and Hubba, with magical incantations, and to express by the motions of its wings the success or failure of any enterprise.

When Alfred was informed of this successful resistance, he left his retreat; but before he would assemble his subjects in arms, he resolved to inspect the situation of the enemy. Under the disguise of a harper, he entered their camp; his music obtained for him a welcome reception, and introduced him into the tent of their prince Guthrum; and he was witness during several days to the supine security of the Danes, and their contempt to the English. Encouraged by what he observed, he sent private emissaries to the most considerable of his friends, and summoned them to meet him with their followers at Brixton, on the borders of Selwood Forest. The English having experienced that submission only increased the insolence and rapacity of their conquerors, repaired to the place of rendezvous with alacrity, and received with shouts of transport a monarch whom they had fondly loved, and whom they had long concluded to have been dead. Alfred immediately led them against the Danes, who, surprised to see an army of English, fled after a faint resistance, and suffered greatly in the pursuit: the remnant that escaped, were besieged by the victors in a fortified camp; and being reduced to extremity by hunger, they implored the clemency of Alfred, whose prudence con-

verted them from mortal enemies into faithful friends and confederates. He proposed to Guthrum and his followers to repeople the desolated parts of East Anglia and Northumberland; but he required from them as a pledge of their future sincerity, that they should embrace christianity. The Danes complied; and Guthrum received, as the adopted son of Alfred, the name of Athelstan.

The success of this expedient seemed to correspond with Alfred's hopes: the greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new quarters; the more turbulent procured subsistence by ravaging the coasts of France; and England enjoyed for some years a state of tranquility. Alfred employed this period in establishing civil and military institutions, and in providing for the future defence of the island. He repaired the ruined cities; built castles and fortresses; and established a regular militia. Sensible that the best means of defending an island is by a navy, he increased the shipping of his kingdom both in number and strength, and trained his subjects to maritime conflicts. He stationed his vessels with such judgment as continually to intercept the Danish ships either before or after they had landed their troops; and by this means he repelled several inroads of the Danes.

At length Hastings, the celebrated Danish chief, having ravaged all the provinces of France, along the Loire and the Seine, appeared off the coast of Kent with three hundred and thirty sail; where the greater part of the Danes disembarked, and seized the fort of Apuldore. Hastings himself, with a fleet of eighty sail, entered the Thames, and fortifying Milton in Kent, spread his forces over the country, and committed the most dreadful ravages. Alfred, on the first alarm of this descent, hastened with a chosen band to the defence of his people; and collecting all the armed militia, he appeared in the field with a force superior to that of the enemy. The invaders, instead of increasing their spoil, were obliged to seek refuge in their fortifications. Tired of this situation, the Danes at Apuldore suddenly left their encampment, and attempted to march towards the Thames, and to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom; but Alfred, whose vigilance they could not escape, encountered and defeated them at Farnham. They fled to their ships, and escaped to Mersey in Essex, where they erected new works for their protection. Has-

tings attempted a similar movement at the same time, and with the same success ; after leaving Milton, he was glad to find refuge at Bamflete, near the isle of Canvey, where he threw up fortifications for his defence.

From these invaders the attention of Alfred was soon distracted by another enemy. Guthrum was now dead ; and his followers, encouraged by the appearance of so great a body of their countrymen, revolted against the authority of Alfred. They embarked on board of two hundred and forty vessels, and appeared before Exeter, in the west of England. Alfred immediately marched to the west, and suddenly attacking them, defeated them, and pursued them to their ships with great slaughter. In another attempt on the coast of Sussex, they were again repulsed, and some of their ships taken. Discouraged by these difficulties, they embarked, and returned to their settlements in Northumberland.

In the mean time, the Danes in Essex, having quitted their retreat, and united their forces under the command of Hastings, ravaged the inland country. The English army left in London attacked the Danish intrenchments at Bamflete, overpowered the garrison, and carried off the wife and two sons of Hastings. Alfred restored the captives to the Danish chief, on condition that he should quit the kingdom, to which he readily assented.

However, many of the Danes refused to follow Hastings. Great numbers of them seized and fortified Shobury, at the mouth of the Thames ; and leaving a garrison there, they marched to Boddington, in the county of Gloucester, where they were reinforced by the Welsh, and erected fortifications for their protection. Alfred surrounded them with his whole force. After having endured the extremities of famine, they attacked the English, and a small number of them effected their escape ; but most of them being taken, they were tried at Winchester, and hanged as public robbers.

This well-timed severity restored tranquility to England, and produced security to the government. Not only the East-Anglian and Northumberland Danes, but the Welsh, acknowledged the authority of Alfred. By prudence, by justice, and by valour, he had now established his sovereignty over all the southern parts of the island, from the English channel to the frontiers of Scotland ;

when, in the vigour of his age, and in the full possession of his faculties, he expired, after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half, in which he had deservedly attained the appellation of GREAT, and the title of founder of the English monarchy.

The character of Alfred, both in private and public life, is almost unrivalled in the annals of any age or nation. His virtues were so happily tempered together, and so justly blended, that each prevented the other from exceeding its proper boundaries. He reconciled the most enterprising spirit with the greatest moderation; the most severe justice with the gentlest lenity; the highest capacity and inclination for science, with the most shining talents for action. His civil and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration; and nature, also, as if so bright a production of her skill should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him every personal grace and accomplishment.

The martial exploits of Alfred afford only an imperfect idea of his merit. His civil institutions, many of which still exist, and his encouragement of the arts and sciences, form the most prominent features of his reign. The violence and rapacity of the Danes had subverted all order throughout England, and introduced the greatest anarchy and confusion. To provide a remedy for the evils which their licentiousness had occasioned, and to render the execution of justice strict and regular, Alfred divided the kingdom into counties; these he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings. Ten householders formed a tithing, who were answerable for each other's conduct, and over whom a headborough or borsholder was appointed to preside. Every man was obliged to register himself in some tithing; and none could change his habitation without a certificate from the headborough of the tithing to which he belonged.

When any person had been guilty of a crime, the headborough was summoned to answer for him; and if the headborough was unwilling to be surety for his appearance, the criminal was committed to prison till his trial. If the criminal fled, either before or after finding sureties, the headborough and tithing were exposed to the penalties of the law. Thirty-one days were allowed them for producing the criminal. If the time elapsed before they

could find him, the headborough and two other member of the tithing were obliged to appear, and together with three chief members of three neighbouring tithings, consisting of twelve in all, swear that the tithing was free from all privity both of the crime and of the escape of the criminal. If the headborough could not produce such a number of witnesses to their innocence, the tithing was compelled to pay a fine to the king. This institution obliged every man carefully to observe the conduct of his neighbours, and was a kind of surety for their behaviour.

In the administration of justice, the headborough summoned his tithing to assist him in deciding any trivial difference which occurred among the members. In affairs of greater moment, or in controversies between members of different tithings, the cause was brought before the hundred, which consisted of ten tithings, or one hundred families, and which was regularly assembled once in four weeks. In their method of decision we trace the origin of juries. Twelve freeholders were chosen, who, together with the presiding magistrate of that division, were sworn to administer impartial justice in the cause submitted to their jurisdiction.

The county court, which met twice a year, and consisted of the freeholders of the county, was superior to that of the hundred, from which it received appeals. The bishop with the aldermen presided in it. The latter originally possessed both the civil and military authority; but Alfred, sensible that this conjunction of power might render the nobility dangerous, appointed a sheriff in each county, who was equal with the aldermen in his judicial function, and whose office also consisted in guarding the rights of the crown from violation, and in levying the fines. In default of justice in these courts, an appeal lay to the king in council; but finding that his time would be entirely engrossed in hearing these appeals, Alfred took care to correct the ignorance or corruption of inferior magistrates, and to instruct his nobility in letters and laws. To guide them in the administration of justice, he framed a code of laws, which, though now lost, long served as the basis of English jurisprudence, and is generally deemed the origin of what is now denominated the common law.

To encourage learning among his subjects was no less the care of this illustrious prince. When he came to the

throne, he found the English sunk into the grossest ignorance. Alfred himself complains, that on his accession he did not know one person, south of the Thames, who could so much as interpret the Latin service; and very few even in the northern parts who had reached that pitch of erudition. To supply this defect, he invited the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he established schools; and he founded, or at least revived, the university of Oxford, which he endowed with various privileges, revenues, and immunities. He enjoined by law all freeholders possessed of two hides, or about two hundred acres of land, to send their children to school for instruction; and he gave preferment, both in church and state, to such only as had made some proficiency in knowledge.

However, the most effectual expedient employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning, was his own example. He usually divided his time into three equal portions: one was employed in exercise and the refectation of his body; another, in the despatch of business; and a third, in study and devotion. Sensible that the people were incapable of speculative instruction, he conveyed his morality by apologues, parables, stories, and apothegms, couched in poetry. He translated the fables of Æsop, the histories of Orosius and Bede, and Boethius on the consolation of Philosophy; nor did he deem it derogatory from his high character of sovereign, legislator, warrior and politician, thus to lead the way in literary pursuits.

This prince was also an encourager of the mechanical arts. He invited industrious foreigners to repeople his country, which had been desolated by the ravages of the Danes. He introduced and encouraged manufactures: he prompted men of activity to engage in navigation and commerce; he appropriated a seventh part of his own revenue to rebuild the ruined cities, castles, palaces, and monasteries; and such was the impression of his sagacity and virtue, that he was regarded by foreigners, as well as by his own subjects, as one of the greatest princes that had appeared on the throne of the world.

Of the two surviving sons of Alfred by his wife Ethelwitha, the daughter of a Mercian earl, Ethelwald
 A. D. the younger inherited his father's passion for let-
 901. ters, and lived a private life; but Edward the elder succeeded to the military talents as well as to the throne

of Alfred. Ethelwald, the cousin-german of Edward, and son of Ethelbert, the elder brother of Alfred, insisted on a title to the throne preferable to that of Edward. Ethelwald, however, was obliged to flee; but connecting his interests with those of the Danes, he obtained the assistance of those freebooters, and returned. An action was fought near Bury, in which the Kentish men vigorously opposed the Danes, who lost their bravest leaders, and among the rest Ethelwald himself. The reign of Edward was an incessant but successful struggle against the Northumbrians, the East-Angles, and the Danes. He gained two signal victories at Telmsford and Naldon, compelled the Danes to retire into France, and obliged the East-Angles to swear allegiance to him. After a turbulent but successful reign of twenty-four years, his kingdom devolved on Athelstan, his natural son.

The mature age of Athelstan obtained for him the preference over the legitimate children of Edward;
 A. D. 925 and, amidst storms of civil conflict and foreign war, he proved himself not unworthy of it. He crushed Alfred, a powerful nobleman, who had conspired against him; he entered Scotland with an army, and extorted the submission of Constantine its king; he reduced to obedience the turbulent Northumbrians; and he defeated with considerable slaughter the Danes and Welsh. Athelstan was regarded as an able and active prince; and the remarkable law which he enacted, that a merchant, who had made three long sea voyages, should be admitted to the rank of thane or gentleman, is a proof of great liberality of mind. He died at Gloucester, after a reign of sixteen years, and was succeeded by Edmund, his legitimate brother.

The reign of Edmund was short, and his death violent. He chastised the Northumbrians, who seized every
 A. D. 941 opportunity of rebelling; and he conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and conferred it on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition that he should do him homage for it, and protect the north from the incursions of the Danes. He perished by the hand of Leolf, a notorious robber, whom he had sentenced to banishment, and who presumed to enter the royal apartment. The king, enraged at this insolence, ordered him to leave the room; and on his refusing to obey, Edmund, naturally

Edgar and Elfrida.

Edwy and Elgiva.

choleric, seized him by the hair, when the ruffian drew a dagger, and gave him a mortal wound.

Edred, the brother and successor of Edmund, had no sooner ascended the throne, than he found it necessary to oppose the incursions of the Northum-^{A. D.}
brian Danes, and to oblige Malcolm, king of Scot-^{946.}
land, to renew his homage for the lands which he held in England. Edred, though not destitute of courage, was an abject slave to superstition; and he abandoned his conscience to Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, who, under the appearance of sanctity, veiled the most violent ambition.

Dunstan practised the most rigid austerity, and pretended to have frequent conflicts with the devil; in one of which he seized the devil by the nose with a pair of red-hot pincers, and held him till the whole neighbourhood resounded with his bellowings. Supported by this affected character, Dunstan obtained an entire ascendancy over Edred, and was placed at the head of the treasury. Sensible that he owed his advancement to the austerity of his life, he became a partisan of the rigid monastic rules. The celibacy of priests was deemed meritorious by the church of Rome; and the pope undertook to make all the clergy in the western world renounce the privilege of marrying. In England, Dunstan seconded his efforts, and introduced the reformation into the convents of Glastonbury and Abingdon; but the secular clergy, who were numerous and rich, defended their privileges against this usurpation. During the ferment occasioned by these religious controversies, Edred departed this life.

The children of Edred being too young to bear the weight of government, the throne was filled by his
^{A. D.}
^{955.} nephew Edwy, who was adorned with a graceful person, and possessed the most promising virtues. Contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, he unfortunately married Elgiva, a beautiful princess of the royal blood, who was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law. This occasioned the invectives of the monks; and the king found reason to repent his creating such dangerous enemies. On the day of his coronation, whilst his nobility were indulging in riot and disorder, Edwy retired from the noisy revelry of the table, to taste the pleasures of love with Elgiva. Dunstan, conjecturing the reason of the king's retreat, burst into the apartment,

and with every opprobrious epithet that could be applied to her sex, thrust the queen from her royal consort. To avenge this public insult, Edwy accused Dunstan of malversation in the treasury, and banished him the kingdom. But Dunstan's party were not inactive during his absence: they exclaimed against the impiety of the king and queen, and proceeded to still more outrageous acts of violence. Archbishop Odo, with a party of soldiers, seized the queen, burned her face with a hot iron, and forcibly carried her into Ireland. Edwy, finding himself unable to resist, was obliged to consent to his divorce. The unhappy Elgiva, attempting to return to her husband, was seized by the infernal Odo, who, with the malice of a demon, caused her to be hamstrung, of which she died a few days after, at Gloucester, in the sharpest torments.

Not satiated with this horrible vengeance, the monks encouraged Edgar, the younger brother of Edwy, to aspire to the throne, and soon put him in possession of Mercia, Northumberland, and East-Anglia. Dunstan returned to England, to assist Edgar and his party; and, after Odo's death, was installed in the see of Canterbury. The unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and pursued with unrelenting vengeance; but his death, which happened soon after, freed him from monkish persecution, and gave Edgar peaceable possession of the throne.

Edgar discovered great abilities in the government of the kingdom; and his reign is one of the most fortunate in English history. By his vigorous preparations for war, he ensured peace; and he awed equally the foreign and domestic Danes. The neighbouring sovereigns, the kings of Scotland, the princes of Wales, of the Isle of Man, of the Orkneys, and of Ireland, were reduced to pay him submission; but the chief means by which he maintained his authority, was his assiduous yet forced respect to the fanatical and inhuman Dunstan and his kindred monks.

These repaid his politic concessions by the highest panegyrics; and Edgar has been represented by them not only as a consummate statesman and a great prince, but as a man of strict virtue, and even a saint. Nothing, however, could more fully prove, that the praises bestowed on Edgar, with respect to the sanctity of his life, were exaggerated and unmerited, than his immoral and licentious

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conduct. He broke into a convent, carried off Editha, a nun, by force, and even committed violence on her person. For this crime, Dunstan required him merely to abstain from wearing his crown during seven years. At Andover, too, Edgar, struck with the beauty of the daughter of a nobleman, in whose house he lodged, unceremoniously went to her mother, and desired that the young lady might pass that very night with him. The mother, knowing the impetuosity of the king's temper, pretended a submission to his will; but she secretly ordered a waiting-maid, named Elfede, to steal into the king's bed, after the company had retired to rest. The dawn of light discovered the deceit; but Edgar, well pleased with his companion, expressed no displeasure on account of the fraud; and Elfede became his favourite mistress, until his criminal marriage with Elfrida.

This lady was daughter and heir of Olgar, earl of Devonshire, and all England resounded with the praises of her beauty. The curiosity of Edgar was excited; and he resolved to marry her, if he found her charms answerable to the report. He communicated his intentions to Athelwold, his favourite, whom he deputed to bring him an authentic account of her person. Athelwold found that general report had not exaggerated the beauty of Elfrida; and being smitten with her charms, he determined to sacrifice to his love for her the fidelity which he owed to his master. He returned to Edgar, and assured him, that the birth and riches of Elfrida had been the cause of the admiration paid to her, and that she possessed no charms of superior lustre. After some time, he intimated to the king, that, though her parentage and fortune had not deceived him with regard to her beauty, she would be an advantageous match for him, and might, by her birth and riches, make him sufficient compensation for the homeliness of her person. Edgar, pleased with an opportunity of establishing his favourite's fortune, forwarded his success by a recommendation to the parents of Elfrida, whose hand Athelwold soon obtained.

Envy, which ever pursues the favourite of a king, speedily informed Edgar of the truth. However, before he avenged the treachery of Athelwold, he resolved to satisfy himself of his guilt. He told him that he intended to visit his castle, and to be introduced to his wife. Athel-

wold, unable to refuse this honour, revealed the whole transaction to Elfrida, and conjured her to conceal from Edgar that beauty which had seduced him from his fidelity. Elfrida promised a compliance, but appeared before the king in all her charms, and excited in his bosom at once the passions of desire and revenge. However, he dissembled his emotions, till he had an opportunity, in hunting, of stabbing Athelwold, and soon after publicly espoused Elfrida.

Edgar died after a reign of sixteen years, and was succeeded by Edward, whom he had by his first marriage with the daughter of earl Ordmer. This prince was anointed and crowned by Dunstan at Kingston, and lived four years after his accession. His death alone was memorable and tragical. Though his step-mother had opposed his succession, and had raised a party in favour of her own son Ethelred, yet Edward had always shown her marks of regard. He was hunting one day near Corfe-castle, in Dorsetshire, where Elfrida resided, and paying her a visit without attendants, he presented her with the opportunity for which she had so long wished. After remounting his horse, he desired some liquor to be brought him; and whilst he was holding the cup to his mouth, a servant of Elfrida approached, and stabbed him behind. The prince, feeling himself wounded, set spurs to his horse; but faint with the loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, and his foot being entangled in the stirrup, he was dragged along until he expired. His youth and innocence obtained for him the appellation of Martyr.

Ethelred, the son of Edgar and Elfrida, reaped the advantage of his mother's crime, and succeeded to the throne. He was a weak and irresolute monarch, and obtained the appellation of Unready. During his reign the Danes resumed their ravages; and Ethelred exhibited neither courage nor ability sufficient to repel so formidable an enemy. A shameful composition was made with Sweyn, king of Denmark; and the English monarch consented to the disgraceful badge of tribute. Ethelred, desirous of forming a closer alliance with the pirates of the north, solicited and received in marriage Emma, sister of Richard the second, duke of Normandy, whose family sprang from the Danish adventurer, Rollo.

Whilst their sovereign courted the alliance, the English groaned beneath the rapacity and arrogance of the northern invaders. Sensible of the superiority of these hardy warriors, the English princes had been accustomed to retain in their pay bodies of Danish troops. These mercenaries, by their arts and military character, had rendered themselves so agreeable to the fair sex, that they debauched the wives and daughters of the English; but what most provoked the inhabitants was, that instead of defending them against invaders, they were always ready to join the foreign foe. This animosity inspired Ethelred with the resolution of massacring the Danes throughout his dominions. Secret orders were despatched to commence the execution every where the same day; and so well

were these orders executed, that the rage of the
A. D. people, sanctioned by authority, distinguished
1002 not between innocence and guilt, and spared
Nov. 13. neither sex nor age.

This barbarous policy, however, did not remain long unrevenged. Sweyn and his Danes, who wanted
A. D. only a pretence for invading England, appeared
1003 off the western coast. Exeter first fell into their hands, from the negligence or treachery of Earl Hough, a Norman, who had been made governor of that city. Thence they extended their devastations over the country. The calamities of the English were augmented by famine; and they submitted to the infamy of purchasing a nominal peace, by the payment of thirty thousand pounds. The dissensions of the English prevented them from opposing the Danes, who still continued their depredations, and from whom they purchased another peace at the expense of forty-eight thousand pounds. The Danes, however, disregarded all engagements, and extorted new contributions. The English nobility, driven to despair, swore allegiance to Sweyn, and delivered him hostages for their fidelity. Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and the treachery of his own subjects, fled into Normandy, whither he had sent before him Emma, and her two sons, Alfred and Edward.

The king had not been more than six weeks in Normandy, when he was informed of the death of
A. D. Sweyn. The English prelates and nobles sent a
1014 deputation into Normandy, and invited Ethelred

to resume the royal authority. But on his return they soon perceived that adversity had not corrected his errors: he displayed the same incapacity, indolence, cowardice, and credulity. In Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, the English found an enemy no less formidable than his father. After ravaging the eastern and southern coast, he burst into the counties of Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset; where an army was assembled against him under the command of prince Edmond, the eldest son of Ethelred. The English soldiers demanded the presence of their sovereign; and upon his refusal to take the field, they became discouraged, and gradually retired from the camp. Edmond, after some fruitless expeditions into the north, retired to London, which he found in confusion, from the death of the king, who had expired, after an inglorious reign of thirty-five years. He left two sons by his first marriage, Edmond who succeeded him, and Edwy who was murdered by Canute; and two more by his second marriage, Alfred and Edward, who, upon the death of Ethelred, were conveyed into Normandy by queen Emma.

Edmond, who from his hardy valour obtained the surname of Ironside, was inferior in abilities only to the difficulties of the time. In two battles he encountered the Danes with skill and courage; but in both he was defeated or betrayed by the enmity or perfidy of Edric, duke of Mercia. The indefatigable Edmond, however, had still resources: he assembled a new army at Gloucester, and was again prepared to dispute the field; when the Danish and English nobility, equally harassed, obliged their kings to submit to a compromise, and to portion the kingdom. Canute reserved to himself the northern part, and relinquished the southern to Edmond. This prince survived the treaty about a month; he was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric, who thereby made way for the succession of Canute the Dane to the crown of England.

Canute, at the head of a great force, was ready to take advantage of the minority of Alfred and Edward, the two sons of Edmond. To cover, however, his injustice under plausible pretences, before he seized the dominions of the English princes, he summoned a general assembly of the states, in order to fix the succession of the kingdom. He here suborned some nobles

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Assassination of Edward the Martyr.

Canute reproving his Flatterers.

to depose, that, in the treaty of Gloucester, it had been verbally agreed, in case of Edmond's death, to name Canute successor to his dominions, or tutor to his children; and this evidence, supported by the great power of Canute, determined the states to vest in him the government of the kingdom. Jealous of the two princes, he sent them to his ally, the king of Sweden, whom he desired to free him by their death from all future anxiety. The Swedish monarch was too humane to comply with this cruel request; but afraid of a quarrel with Canute if he protected the young princes, he conveyed them to Solomon, king of Hungary. The elder died without issue; but Edward, the younger, married Agatha, the sister-in-law of Solomon, and daughter of the emperor Henry II., by whom he had Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Christina, who became a nun.

Canute no sooner found himself confirmed on the throne, than he put to death the nobles on whose fidelity he could not rely; and among these was the traitor Edric, who had presumed to reproach him with his services. But, like a wise prince, he was determined that the English, now deprived of all their dangerous leaders, should be reconciled to the Danes by the justice and impartiality of his government. He restored the Saxon customs in the general assembly of the states; he made no distinction between Danes and English in the distribution of justice; and the victors were gradually incorporated with the vanquished. Though the distance of Edmond's children was regarded by Canute as the greatest security to his government, yet he dreaded the pretensions of Alfred and Edward, who were supported by their uncle, Richard, duke of Normandy. To acquire the friendship of that prince, he paid his addresses to his sister Emma; and the widow of Ethelred consented to bestow her hand on the implacable enemy of her former husband, on condition that the children of their marriage should mount the English throne.

After repelling the attacks of the king of Sweden, Canute invaded and subdued Norway, of which he retained possession till his death. At leisure from war, he cast his view towards that future existence, which it is so natural for the human mind, whether satiated by prosperity, or disgusted with adversity, to make the object of its attention. Instead, however, of endeavouring to atone for the

crimes which he had committed by compensation to the injured, it was in building churches, in endowing monasteries, and in a pilgrimage to Rome, that his penitence was displayed. Some of his courtiers affected to think his power uncontrollable, and that all things would be obedient to his command. Canute, sensible of their adulation, ordered his chair to be placed on the sea shore while the tide was rising; and as the waters approached, he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean. But when the sea, still advancing towards him, began to wet his feet, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them, that every creature in the universe is feeble and impotent, compared to that Almighty Being in whose hands are all the elements of nature, and who can say to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther."

Canute died at Shaftsbury, in the nineteenth year of his reign. Of his two sons by his first marriage, Sweyn had been crowned king of Norway, and Harold succeeded his father on the English throne; and Hardicanute, who was his issue by Emma, was left in possession of the kingdom of Denmark.

Though Harold succeeded to the throne of England agreeably to the will of his father, who considered it dangerous to leave a newly-conquered kingdom A. D. 1035 in the hands of so young a prince as Hardicanute; yet this was a manifest violation of the treaty with the duke of Normandy, by which England was assigned to the issue of Canute by Emma. Harold was favoured by the Danes, and Hardicanute by the English. The death of Harold, however, which happened four years after his accession, left the succession open to his brother Hardicanute. He expired, little regretted by his subjects, and distinguished only for his agility in running, by which he had gained the surname of Harefoot.

Hardicanute, upon his arrival from the continent, was received with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy, and was acknowledged king both by the A. D. 1039 Danes and the English. However, he soon lost the affections of the nation by his misconduct. At the nuptials of a Danish lord, which he had honoured with his presence, Hardicanute died; and this event once

more presented to the English a favourable opportunity of shaking off the Danish yoke.

The descendants of Edmond Ironside, the legitimate heirs to the crown, were at a distance in Hungary ; and as all delays might be dangerous, the vacant throne was offered to Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma. His succession might have been opposed by earl Godwin, who had espoused the daughter of Canute, and whose power, alliances, and abilities, gave him a great influence ; but it was stipulated, that Edward should marry Editha, the daughter of Godwin. To this Edward consented, and was crowned king of England.

The long residence of Edward in Normandy, had attached him to the natives, who repaired to his court in great numbers, and who soon rendered their language, customs, and laws, fashionable in the kingdom. Their influence soon became disgusting to the English ; but above all, it excited the jealousy of Godwin. That powerful nobleman, besides being earl or duke of Wessex, had the counties of Kent and Sussex annexed to his government : his eldest son, Sweyn, possessed the same authority in the counties of Oxford, Berks, Gloucester, and Hereford : and Harold, his second son, was duke of East Anglia, and at the same time governor of Essex. The king had indeed married the daughter of Godwin ; but the amiable qualities of Editha had never won the affection of her husband. It is even pretended that Edward abstained from all commerce of love with her ; and such a forbearance, though it obtained for the prince, from the monkish historians, the appellation of Saint and Confessor, could not but be noticed by the high-spirited Godwin.

However, the influence of the Normans was the popular pretence for the disaffection of the duke of Wessex to the king and his government. Godwin raised the standard of rebellion ; but finding himself, from the desertion of his troops, incapable of opposing his sovereign, he fled to Flanders. Returning with a powerful fleet, which the earl of Flanders had permitted him to prepare in his harbours, a new reconciliation took place, and the most obnoxious of the Normans were banished.

Godwin's death, which happened soon after, devolved his government of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, with his office of steward of the household, on his son Harold,

who was actuated by an ambition equal to that of his father, and was superior to him in virtue and address. Edward, who felt the approach of age and infirmities, and had no issue himself, began to think of appointing a successor to his kingdom ; and, at length, he fixed his choice on his kinsman, William, duke of Normandy.

This celebrated prince was natural son of Robert, duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaise. The illegitimacy of his birth had not prevented him from being acknowledged by the Normans as their duke ; and the qualities which he displayed in the field and the cabinet, encouraged his friends, and struck terror into his enemies. Having established tranquility in his own dominions, he visited England ; where he was received in a manner suitable to the reputation he had acquired, and to the obligations which Edward owed to his family. Soon after his return, he was informed of the king's intentions in his favour ; and this first opened the mind of William to entertain such ambitious hopes. Harold, however, openly aspired to the succession ; and Edward, feeble and irresolute, was afraid to declare either for or against him. In this state of uncertainty, the king was surprised by death, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

On the death of Edward, the last of the Saxon princes, Harold ascended the throne with little opposition ; and the whole nation seemed to acquiesce in his elevation. The duke of Normandy, however, received the intelligence with the greatest indignation. No sooner had he proclaimed his intention of attempting the conquest of England, than he found less difficulty in completing his levies, than in rejecting those who were desirous of serving under him. The duke of Normandy speedily assembled a fleet of three thousand vessels, in which to transport an army of sixty thousand men, whom he had selected from the numbers that courted his service. Among these were found the high names of the most illustrious nobles of Normandy, France, Brittany, and Flanders. To these bold chieftains William held up the spoils of England as the prize of their valour ; and pointing to the opposite shore, he told them, that there was the field on which to erect trophies to their name, and fix their residence. The Norman armament arrived, without any ma

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terial loss, at Pevensey, in Sussex; and the troops were disembarked without meeting any obstacle. The duke himself, as he leaped on shore, happened to stumble and fall; but he had the presence of mind to turn the omen to his advantage, by calling aloud that he had taken possession of the country.

Harold had just gained a great and important victory over the Norwegians, who had invaded the kingdom, when he received the intelligence that the duke of Normandy had landed with a numerous army in the south of England. He resolved to give battle in person, and soon appeared in sight of the enemy, who had pitched their camp at Hastings. So confident was Harold of success, that to a message sent by the duke, he replied, "The God of battles should soon be the arbiter of all their differences."

Both parties immediately prepared for action; but the English spent the night previous to the battle in riot and jollity; whilst the Normans were occupied in prayer and in the duties of religion. In the morning, the duke assembled his principal officers, and harangued them in a set speech, in which he used every argument that could stimulate their courage and repel their fears. He then ordered the signal of battle to be given; and the whole army, moving at once, and singing the hymn or song of Roland, the famous peer of Charlemagne, advanced in order and with alacrity towards the English.

Harold had seized the advantage of a rising ground, and having secured his flanks with trenches, he resolved to stand on the defensive, and to avoid an engagement with the cavalry, in which he was inferior. The Kentish men were placed in the van, a post of honour which they always claimed as their due. The Londoners guarded the standard; and the king himself, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, dismounting from his horse, placed himself at the head of his infantry, and expressed his resolution to conquer or to die. The first attack of the Normans was desperate, but was received with equal valour by the English; and the former began to retreat, when William hastened to their support with a select band. His presence restored the action; and the English in their turn were obliged to retire. They

rallied again, however, assisted by the advantage of the ground; when William commanded his troops to allure the enemy from their position, by the appearance of flight. The English followed precipitately into the plain; where the Normans faced upon them, and forced them back with considerable slaughter. The artifice was repeated a second time with the same success; yet a great body of the English still maintained themselves in firm array, and seemed resolved to dispute the victory. Harold, however, was slain by an arrow, whilst combatting at the head of his men; and his two brothers shared the same fate. The English, discouraged by the fall of their princes, fled on all sides; and the darkness of the night contributed to save those who had survived the carnage of the battle.

Thus was gained by William, duke of Normandy, the great and decisive victory of Hastings, after a battle fought from morning to sun-set, in which the valour of the vanquished, as well as of the victors, was highly conspicuous. In this engagement nearly fifteen thousand Normans fell; and William had three horses killed under him. But the victory, however dearly purchased, was decisive, as it paid the price of a kingdom. The body of Harold was brought to William, who generously restored it without ransom to his mother. The Norman army gave thanks to heaven for their success; and their prince pressed forward to secure the prize he had won.

CHAP. III.

The Reigns of William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I., and Stephen.

As soon as William passed the Thames at Wallingford, Stigand, the primate, made submission to him: and before he came in sight of London, all the chief nobility entered his camp, and requested him to mount the throne, declaring that, as they had always been ruled by regal power, they desired to follow, in this instance, the example of their ancestors, and knew of no one more worthy than himself to hold the reins of government. Though William feigned to hesitate, and wished to obtain a more formal consent of the English nation, yet he dreaded the danger of delay, and accepted of the crown which was thus tendered him. He was consecra-

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ted in Westminster abbey by Alfred, archbishop of York; and he was attended, on this occasion, by the most considerable of the nobility, both English and Norman.

Thus, by a pretended destination of king Edward, and by an irregular election of the people, but still more by force of arms, William seated himself on the English throne. He introduced into England that strict execution of justice for which his government had been much celebrated in Normandy. He confirmed the liberties and immunities of London, and the other cities of England, and appeared desirous of replacing every thing on ancient establishments. His whole administration had the semblance of that of a lawful prince, not of a conqueror; and the English began to flatter themselves that they had changed only the succession of their sovereigns, and not the form of their government. But amidst this confidence and friendship which he expressed for the English, the king took care to place all real power in the hands of the Normans. He built citadels in London, Winchester, Hereford, Oxford, and the towns best situated for commanding the kingdom, all of which he garrisoned with Norman soldiers.

By this mixture of vigour and lenity, William had so soothed or humbled the minds of the English, that he thought he might safely revisit his native country, and enjoy the congratulations of his ancient subjects. Accordingly he set out for Normandy, and carried over with him the chief of the English nobles, who, whilst they served to grace his court by their magnificence, were in reality hostages for the fidelity of the nation.

During the absence of William, affairs took a very unfavourable turn in England. It is probable that the Normans, despising a people who had so easily submitted to the yoke, and envying their riches, were desirous of provoking them to rebellion. Certain, however, it is, that their arrogance multiplied discontents and complaints every where; that secret conspiracies were entered into against the government; and that every thing seemed to threaten a revolution. The disaffection of the English daily increased; and a secret conspiracy was entered into to perpetrate in one day a general massacre of the Normans, like that which had been formerly executed upon the Danes.

The return of the king, however, disconcerted the plans

of the conspirators ; and the confiscation of their estates enabled the king still farther to gratify the rapacity of the Normans. Though naturally violent and severe in his temper, yet William still preserved the appearance of justice in his oppression ; he restored to their inheritance such as had been arbitrarily expelled by the Normans during his absence ; but he imposed on the people the tax of Danegelt, which had been abolished by Edward the Confessor, and which was extremely odious to the nation.

The English now clearly foresaw that the king intended to rely entirely on the support and affection of foreigners, and that new forfeitures would be the result of any attempt to maintain their rights. Impressed with this dismal prospect many fled into foreign countries. Several of them settled in Scotland, and founded families which were afterwards illustrious in that country. But whilst the English suffered under these oppressions, the Normans found themselves surrounded by an agreeable people, and began to wish for tranquility. However, the rage of the vanquished English served only to excite the attention of the king and his warlike chiefs to suppress every commencement of rebellion.

William introduced into England the feudal law, which had some time been established in Normandy and France. He divided, with very few exceptions, besides the royal demesnes, all the lands of England into baronies ; and he conferred them with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of his adventurers. These barons made a grant of a great part of their lands to other foreigners, under the denomination of knights or vassals, who paid their lord the same duty and submission which the chieftains paid to their sovereign. The whole kingdom contained about 700 chief tenants, and 60,215 knights-fees ; and as none of the native English were admitted into the first rank, the few who retained their landed property were glad to be received into the second, under the protection of some powerful Norman.

The doctrine which exalted the papacy above all human power, had gradually diffused itself from Rome ; but, at this time, was more prevalent in the southern, than in the northern kingdoms of Europe. Pope Alexander, who had assisted William in his conquest, naturally expected that he would extend to England the reverence for this sacred

character, and break the spiritual independence of the Saxons. As soon, therefore, as the Norman prince was established on the throne, Alexander despatched to him Esmenfroy, bishop of Siam, as his legate: and the king, though he was probably led by principle to pay submission to Rome, determined to employ this incident as a means of serving his political purposes, and degraded those English prelates who were obnoxious to him. However, the superstitious spirit which became dangerous to some of William's successors, was checked by the abilities of that monarch. He prohibited his subjects from acknowledging any one for pope, whom he himself had not previously received; and he would not suffer any bulls or letters from Rome to be produced without the sanction of his authority.

But the English had the mortification to find that the king had employed himself chiefly in oppressing them. He even formed a project of extinguishing the English language; and, for that purpose, he ordered that in all schools youth should be instructed in the French tongue; and that all law proceedings should be directed in the same idiom: hence arises that mixture of French which is at present found in the English tongue, and particularly in legal forms.

William's eldest son, Robert, who was greedy of fame, impatient of contradiction, and without reserve in his friendships or enmities, had been flattered with the hope that his father, in possession of England, would resign to him the independent government of his continental dominions. The king, indeed, had declared Robert his successor in Normandy, and had obliged the barons of that duchy to do homage to him as their future sovereign; but when Robert demanded of his father the execution of those engagements, William refused; Robert openly declared his discontent, and cherished a violent jealousy against his two surviving brothers, William and Henry. Irritated by an imaginary affront, he quitted the court, and after an ineffectual attempt to surprise the citadel of Rouen, fled to Hugh de Neufchatel, a powerful Norman baron, and openly levied war against his father. After a struggle of several years, a reconciliation was effected between the king and Robert, who soon after accompanied his father to England.

Having gained a respite from war, William employed his leisure in an undertaking which does honour to his memory. He appointed commissioners to survey all the lands in the kingdom; their extent in each district; their proprietors, tenures, value; and the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained. This monument, called Domesday Book, was perfected in six years, and is still preserved in the exchequer.

The domestic happiness of William was again interrupted by the death of his consort Matilda, ^{A. D.} 1083 whom he tenderly loved. He was involved in war with France, on account of the inroads into Normandy by some French barons on the frontiers. The displeasure of William was increased by some railleries which Philip of France had thrown out against his person. He was become corpulent, and had been detained in bed some time by sickness, when Philip jocularly expressed his surprise, that his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. This being reported to William, he sent Phillip word, that, as soon as he was up, he would present so many lights at Notre-Dame, as perhaps would give little pleasure to the king of France; alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after child-birth. Immediately after his recovery, he led an army into the Isle of France, which he laid waste; and he also took and reduced to ashes the town of Mante. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident, which put an end to his life. His horse starting, he bruised his belly on the pommel of his saddle; and being in a bad habit of body, and apprehending the consequences, he ordered himself to be carried to the monastery of St. Gerwas. In his last moments, he was struck with remorse for the cruelties he had exercised, and endeavoured to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son, Robert; and he wrote to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, desiring him to crown his second son, William. To Henry, his third son, he bequeathed nothing save the possessions of his mother Matilda; but foretold that he would one day surpass both his brothers, in power and opulence. Having made these dispositions, he expired, in the sixty-third year of his age, and in the twenty-first of his reign over England.

Few princes have been more fortunate than William, or were better entitled to grandeur and prosperity, from the abilities and vigour of mind which he displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence; and his ambition, though exorbitant, generally submitted to the dictates of sound policy. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion; and his conduct was too austere to render his government popular over a vanquished people, who felt him to be both a master and a tyrant.

William, surnamed *Rufus*, from the red colour of his hair, was solemnly crowned king of England by the
 A. D. 1087 primate; and about the same time Robert was acknowledged successor to Normandy. But the barons, who possessed estates both in England and Normandy, were uneasy at the separation of those territories; they respected the claim of primogeniture in Robert, and they preferred his open and generous nature to the haughty and tyrannical disposition of his brother. A conspiracy, therefore, was formed against William, who, conscious of his danger, endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the English, by promises of future lenity, and the indulgence of hunting in the royal forests. The English espoused the cause of William, who marched an army into Kent, and reduced the fortresses of Pevensey and Rochester, which had been seized by his uncles. This success, together with the indolent conduct of Robert, broke all the hopes of the rebels; some few of whom received a pardon, but the greater part were attainted, and their estates confiscated.

But the noise of the petty wars and commotions sunk in the tumult of the crusades, which engrossed the attention and agitated the hearts of the principal nations of Europe. Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, then in possession of the Turks. Deeply affected with the dangers to which that act of piety now exposed the pilgrims, he entertained the design of leading against the Moslems the hardy warriors of the west. By permission of the pope, Martin the Second, he preached the crusade over Europe; and men of all ranks flew to arms, with the greatest alacrity, for the purpose of rescuing the Holy Land from the infidels. The sign of the cross became the badge of union, and was affixed on their right shoulder, by all who

enlisted themselves in this sacred warfare. Such was the general ardour, that while the youthful and vigorous took up arms, the infirm and aged contributed to the expedition by presents and money. A promiscuous, disorderly multitude of 300,000, impatient to commence operations, under the conduct of Peter the Hermit, attempted to penetrate through Hungary and Bulgaria to Constantinople, and perished by disease, by famine, and the sword. These were followed by more numerous and better disciplined armies, which, after passing the streights at Constantinople, were mustered in the plains of Asia, and amounted to the number of 700,000 combatants.

Robert duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and mistaken generosity of his spirit, had early engaged in the crusade; but being destitute of money, he offered to mortgage, or rather sell his dominions, to his brother William, for the inadequate sum of ten thousand marks. The bargain was soon concluded; and whilst Robert set out with a magnificent train for the Holy Land, William possessed himself of Normandy, and thus reunited beneath his authority the extensive dominions of his father.

The cession of Normandy and Maine extended the dominions, but, on account of the unsettled state of those countries, weakened the power of William. The Norman nobles were men of independent minds, and were supported by the French king in all their insurrections. Helic, lord of Le Fleche, a small town in Anjou, obliged William to undertake several expeditions, before he could prevail over a petty baron, who had acquired the confidence and affections of the inhabitants of Maine.

However, the king was not less desirous of extending his dominions. William, earl of Poitiers and duke of Guienne, inflamed with the spirit of adventure, determined to join the crusaders; but wanting money to forward the preparations, he offered to mortgage his dominions to the king of England. This proposal was accepted by the king, who had prepared a fleet and army to escort the money and to take possession of the rich provinces of Poitiers and Guienne, when an accident put an end to all his ambitious projects and views of aggrandizement. He was engaged in the New Forest in hunting, accompanied by Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his skill in archery; and as William dismounted after

William the First receiving the Crown.

Death of William Rufus.

a chase, Tyrrel, impatient of showing his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a stag, which suddenly started before him. The arrow glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast, and instantly killed him. Tyrrel, fearful of suspicions which perhaps he was conscious of incurring, without informing the royal attendants, gained the sea shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem, as a penance for this involuntary crime. William was perfidious and oppressive; and the extremes of prodigality and rapacity, which were reconciled in him, had long estranged from him the hearts of his subjects. The chief monuments which perpetuate his name are the Tower, Westminster Hall, and London Bridge.

Prince Henry was hunting with Rufus in the New Forest, when that monarch was killed; and, hastening to Winchester, he extorted by threats the royal treasure from William de Breteuil, the keeper. Pursuing his journey to London, and having assembled some noblemen and prelates, whom his address or liberality gained to his side, he was saluted king; and in less than three days after his brother's death, he was solemnly crowned by Maurice, bishop of London.

To maintain the dignity which he had thus usurped, Henry resolved to court, by fair professions at least, the favour of his subjects. He passed a charter, which was framed to remedy many of the grievous oppressions that had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. He espoused Matilda, daughter of Malcolm the Third, king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling; and his marriage with a Saxon princess endeared him to the English, and tended to establish him on the throne.

Robert returned to Normandy about a month after the death of his brother William. After establishing his authority over Normandy, he made preparations for possessing himself of England, of which he had been so unjustly defrauded. The two armies lay in sight of each other for several days without coming to action. It was, however, agreed, that Robert, in lieu of his pretensions to England, should receive an annual pension of 3000 marks; that if either of the princes died without issue, the survivor should succeed to his dominions; and that the adherents of each should be pardoned.

Although plunged into the most dissolute pleasures, or

abandoned to the most womanish superstitions, Robert neglected the government of his duchy; and Normandy became a scene of violence and depredation. To avail himself of these disorders, Henry raised a numerous army, with which he invaded Normandy. He took Bayeux by storm, and was admitted into Caen by the inhabitants. Robert, roused at last from his lethargy, advanced to meet him, with a view of terminating their quarrels in a decisive battle; he resumed his wonted spirit; he animated his troops by his example, and threw the English into disorder: but when he had the fairest prospects of victory, the treachery and flight of one of his generals occasioned the total defeat of his army. Robert and ten thousand of his followers were made prisoners. Normandy submitted to the victors; and the unfortunate prince was carried by Henry to England, and detained in prison during the remainder of his life in the castle of Gardiff, in Glamorganshire.

The conquest of Normandy seemed to establish the throne of Henry; but his prosperity was clouded by a severe domestic calamity. His only son, William, had reached his eighteenth year; he had been affianced to the daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou; and he had been acknowledged as successor to the kingdom of England, and the duchy of Normandy. The prince was detained for some hours after his father had set sail from Barfleur to return to England; and his captain and crew having spent the interval in drinking, when they weighed anchor, in their impatience to overtake the king, they struck the ship on a rock, where she immediately foundered. William was instantly put into the long-boat and had got clear of the ship; when hearing the cries of his natural sister, the countess of Perche, he ordered the seamen to row back in hopes of saving her. But the numbers who then crowded in, soon sunk the boat; and the prince, with all his retinue, perished. Above one hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion; and the only person that escaped to relate the melancholy tale was a butcher of Rouen, who clung to the mast, and was taken up the next morning by some fishermen. When Henry received intelligence of this mournful event, he fainted away; and

it was remarked that he never after recovered his wonted cheerfulness.

Henry had now no legitimate issue except one daughter, Matilda, whom he had betrothed, when only eight years of age, to the emperor Henry the Fifth, and whom he had sent over to be educated in Germany. Fearful lest her absence from the kingdom, and marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the succession, Henry obtained the hand of Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine. Adelais, however, proved barren in his embraces; and he bestowed his daughter Matilda, who had become a widow, on Geoffery, the son of Fulk, count of Anjou.

Henry died at St. Dennis le Forment, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign; leaving by will his daughter Matilda the heir of all his dominions. He was one of the most accomplished princes that ever graced the English throne. His person was manly, and his countenance engaging; and he was eloquent, penetrating, and brave. By his great progress in literature, he acquired the name of *Beau-clerc*, or the scholar; but his application to those sedentary pursuits abated nothing of the activity and vigilance of his government.

The failure of male heirs to the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy, seemed to leave the succession open, without a rival, to the empress Matilda; but no sooner had Henry breathed his last, than Stephen, son of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, hastened to London, and was saluted king by the populace. His father was the count of Blois, whom Adela had married; and Stephen had always affected the greatest attachment to his uncle, the late king, and the most ardent zeal for the succession of Matilda. After gaining the populace, Stephen next acquired the good-will of the clergy, by the influence of his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester; and he was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, without much attendance indeed, but without opposition.

The Normans no sooner heard that Stephen had seized the English crown, than they swore allegiance to him; and Matilda was scarcely informed of her father's death, before she found another had usurped her rights. Matilda, however, did not long delay to assert her claim to the

crown. Encouraged by a quarrel which had broken out between Stephen and some of the clergy, she landed in England, with Robert, earl of Gloucester, and a retinue of one hundred and forty knights. She fixed her residence at Arundel castle, the gates of which were opened to her by Adelais, the queen-dowager ; and she excited her partisans to take arms in every county of England. The war quickly broke out in every quarter ; and England, for more than a year, was distressed and laid waste by the fury of the contending parties. At last, a battle took place between Stephen and the earl of Gloucester. After a violent shock, the two wings of the royalists were put to flight ; and Stephen himself, surrounded by the enemy, was borne down by numbers, and taken prisoner.

The authority of Matilda now seemed to be established over the whole kingdom ; but affairs did not remain long in this situation. Matilda was passionate and imperious, and did not know how to temper with affability the harshness of a refusal. Stephen's queen, seconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her husband, on condition that he should renounce the crown, and retire into a convent. Other petitions also were presented to Matilda ; but she rejected them all in the most haughty and peremptory manner. A conspiracy was entered into to seize her person ; but Matilda saved herself by a precipitate retreat to Oxford. The civil war was rekindled with greater fury than ever ; and Matilda, harassed with incessant action, sought repose with her son in Normandy.

But when prince Henry, the son of Matilda, had reached his sixteenth year, he resolved to reclaim his hereditary kingdom. Informed of the dispositions of the English in his favour, he invaded England ; and, at Malmesbury, he prepared to encounter Stephen in a pitched battle. The great men on both sides, alarmed at the consequences of a decisive action, compelled the rival princes to a negotiation. It was agreed, that, on the demise of Stephen, the crown should revert to Henry ; and that William, Stephen's surviving son, should succeed to the earldom of Boulogne, and his patrimonial estate. After all the barons had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and done homage to Henry, as heir-apparent to the crown, that prince evacuated the kingdom ; and the death of Stephen, which

happened the next year, after a short illness, in the fiftieth year of his age, put an end to farther jealousies.

Had Stephen succeeded by a just title to the crown, he seems to have been well qualified to have promoted the happiness of his subjects. He was possessed of industry, activity, and courage; and though his judgment may be arraigned, his humanity must be acknowledged, and his address commended. During this reign, the see of Rome made a rapid progress in its encroachments, and ultimately pretended to a paramount authority over the kings of this country.

CHAP. IV.

Reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John.

THE first acts of Henry's government corresponded to the high idea entertained of his abilities. He dismissed the mercenary soldiers of Stephen; revoked all grants made by his predecessors; restored the coin which had been debased during the former reign; and was rigorous in the execution of justice, and the suppression of violence.

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In addition to his possessing the throne of England, Henry, in right of his father, was master of Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, of Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poictou, Xantigone, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limosin; and he annexed Brittany to his other states; all of which rendered him one of the most powerful monarchs in christendom, and an object of great jealousy to the king of France.

Henry directed his attention to the encroachments of the see of Rome, which had grown with a rapidity not to be brooked by a prince of his high spirit. To facilitate his design of suppressing them, he advanced to the dignity of metropolitan, Becket, his chancellor, on whose flexibility of temper he had made a wrong estimate.

Thomas a Becket was born of reputable parents in the city of London; and having insinuated himself into the favour of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, he obtained from that prelate considerable preferment. Being of a gay and splendid turn, and apparently little tenacious of ecclesiastical privileges, Henry thought him the fittest person, on the death of Theobald, for the high station of me-

tropolitan; but no sooner was he installed on this high dignity, than he altered his conduct and demeanor. He maintained in his retinue and attendants alone his ancient pomp and lustre; in his own person he affected the greatest austerity; he wore sackcloth next his skin, which he pretended to conceal; he seemed perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious lectures; and all men of penetration plainly saw that he was meditating some great design.

Though Henry found himself grievously mistaken in the character of the person whom he had raised to the primacy, yet he determined not to desist from his former intention of retrenching clerical usurpations. The ecclesiastics in that age had renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate; and crimes of the blackest die were committed by them with impunity. A clerk in Worcestershire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had proceeded to murder the father; the general indignation against the crime, moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuse which had become so palpable, and to require that the clerk should be delivered up, and receive condign punishment from the magistrate. Becket insisted on the privileges of the church, and maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted on the criminal than degradation.

In order to define expressly those laws to which he required obedience, and to mark the limits between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, Henry summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon; when, by his influence or authority, the laws so favourable to prerogative, known by the name of the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, were voted without opposition. Becket, of all the prelates, alone withheld his assent; but he was at last obliged to comply, and engaged by oath *legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve*, to observe them. However, Alexander, who was pope at that time, condemned them in the strongest terms, abrogated, annulled, and rejected them.

Becket no sooner learned the determination of the Roman pontiff, than he expressed the deepest sorrow for his compliance, and endeavoured to engage the other bishops to adhere to their common rights. This excited the resentment of Henry, who caused a prosecution for some land that he held to be commenced against him; and when the primate excused himself from appearing, on account of

indisposition, he was arraigned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court; and being condemned, his goods and chattels were confiscated. Henry soon after required Becket to give in the account of his administration while chancellor, and estimated the balance due at 44,000 marks, for which he demanded sureties. After celebrating mass, where he had previously ordered that the introit to the communion service should begin with the words, *Princes sat and spake against me*, arrayed in the sacred vestments, and bearing the cross aloft in his hands, he entered the royal apartments, and declared that he put himself and his see under the protection of the supreme pontiff. Having in vain asked permission to leave Northampton, he withdrew secretly to the sea-coast, and found a vessel which conveyed him to France, where he was received with every token of regard.

Henry issued orders to his justiciaries, inhibiting, under severe penalties, all appeals to the pope or archbishop; and by discovering some intentions of acknowledging Pascal III., the anti-pope at that time, he endeavoured to terrify the enterprising though prudent pontiff from proceeding to extremities against him. On the other hand, Becket not only issued a censure, excommunicating the king's chief ministers by name, but also abrogated and annulled the constitutions of Clarendon; and he declared that he suspended the spiritual thunder over Henry himself, solely that the prince might avoid the blow by a timely repentance.

At length a reconciliation was effected between the king and the primate; and Becket was allowed to return, on conditions which may be esteemed both honourable and advantageous to that prelate. He was not required to give up any rights of the church; or resign any of those pretensions which had been the original ground of the controversy. It was agreed that all these questions should be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents should, without making further submission, be restored to all their livings; and that even the possessors of such benefices as depended on the see of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's absence, should be expelled, and Becket have liberty to supply the vacancies. In return for concessions which trenched so deeply on the honour and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the

advantage of seeing his ministers absolved from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, and of preventing the interdict with which his kingdom had been threatened. So anxious was Henry to accommodate all differences, and to reconcile himself fully with Becket, that on one occasion he humiliated himself so far as to hold the stirrup of that haughty prelate while he mounted his horse.

Whilst the king was expecting an interdict to be laid on his kingdom, he had associated his son, prince Henry, in the royalty, and had caused him to be crowned by the archbishop of York. Becket, elated by the victory which he had gained over his sovereign, on his arrival in England suspended the archbishop of York, and excommunicated the bishops of London and Salisbury, who had assisted at the coronation of the prince.

When the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived at Baieux, where the king then resided, and informed him of the violent proceedings of Becket, he was vehemently agitated, and burst forth in an exclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the enterprises of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four gentlemen of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Traci, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, taking these passionate expressions to be a hint for the primate's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other; and swearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, secretly withdrew from court. The four assassins, though they took different roads to England, arrived nearly at the same time at Saltwood, near Canterbury; and being there joined by some assistants, they proceeded in great haste to the archiepiscopal palace. They found the primate, who trusted entirely to the sacredness of his character, very slenderly attended; and though they threw out many menaces and reproaches against him, he was so incapable of fear, that, without using any precautions against their violence, he immediately proceeded to St. Benedict's church to hear vespers. They followed him thither, attacked him before the altar, and having cloven his head with many blows, retired without experiencing any opposition. Such was the tragical end of Thomas a Becket, a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover to the

Becket's Death.

Henry 2. scourged at Becket's Tomb.

world, and probably to himself, the enterprises of pride and ambition, under the disguise of sanctity, and of zeal for the interests of religion.

The intelligence of Becket's murder threw the king into the greatest consternation; and he was immediately sensible of the dangerous consequences which he had to apprehend from so horrible an event. However, the rage of Alexander was appeased, by the ministers of Henry making oath before the whole consistory of their sovereign's innocence, and engaging that he would make every submission which should be required of him. Becket was afterwards canonized by the pope; and pilgrimages were performed to obtain his intercession with heaven.

Henry, finding himself in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, undertook an expedition against Ireland. That island, about the middle of the twelfth century, besides many small tribes, contained five principal sovereignties, Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught; and, as it had been usual for one or the other of these to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly some prince, who seemed, for the time, to act as monarch of Ireland. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity; but his government, ill obeyed even within his own territory, could not unite the people in any measures either for the establishment of order, or for defence against foreigners.

Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, having rendered himself obnoxious by his licentious tyranny, had been expelled his dominions by a confederacy, of which Connaught was the chief. The exiled prince applied to Henry for succour, who gave Dermot no other assistance than letters patent, by which he empowered all his subjects to aid him in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot formed a treaty with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul; who stipulated, for this assistance, a promise that he should marry his daughter Eva, and be declared heir to all his territories. Dermot also engaged in his service Robert Fitz-Stephens, constable of Abertivi, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and obtained their promise of invading Ireland; he himself privately returned to his own state, concealed himself in a monastery which he had founded, and prepared every thing for the reception of his English allies.

The troops of Fitz-Stephens were first ready. That gentleman landed in Ireland with thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers. The conjunction of Maurice de Pendergast, who about the same time brought over ten knights and sixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephens to attempt the siege of Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes; and after gaining an advantage, he made himself master of the place. Soon after, Fitz-Gerald arrived with ten knights, thirty esquires, and a hundred archers; and being joined by the former adventurers, composed a force which nothing in Ireland was able to withstand. Roderic, the chief monarch of the island, was foiled in different actions; the prince of Ossory was obliged to submit, and give hostages for his peaceable behaviour; and Dermot, not content with being restored to his kingdom of Leinster, projected the dethroning of Roderic, and aspired to the sole dominion of Ireland.

In prosecution of these views, he sent over a messenger to the earl of Strigul, challenging the performance of his promise, and displaying the mighty advantages which might now be reaped by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Strongbow first sent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights, and seventy archers; and as Richard himself, who brought over two hundred horse and a body of archers, joined them a few days after, the English made themselves masters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by assault. Richard, marrying Eva, became soon after, by the death of Dermot, master of the kingdom of Leinster, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland.

Henry, jealous of the progress of his own subjects, sent orders to recall all the English; and that monarch himself landed in Ireland at the head of five hundred knights. The adventurers appeased him by offering to hold all their acquisitions in vassalage to his crown; and the Irish, being dispirited by their misfortunes, nothing more was necessary than to receive their submission. The whole island was formally annexed to the English crown; and Henry, after granting to earl Strigul the commission of seneschal of Ireland, returned in triumph to England.

The king had appointed Henry, his eldest son, to be his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine;

Richard, his second son, was invested in the duchy of Guienne and county of Poictou; Geoffery, his third son, inherited, in right of his wife, the duchy of Brittany; and the new conquest of Ireland was destined for the appanage of John, his fourth son. But this exaltation of his family excited the jealousy of all his neighbours, who made those very sons, whose fortunes he had so anxiously established, the means of embittering his future life, and disturbing his government.

Young Henry had been persuaded by Lewis of France, that by the ceremony of coronation, in the life of his father, he was entitled to sovereignty. In consequence of these extravagant ideas, he desired the king to resign to him either the crown of England, or the duchy of Normandy; and on the king refusing to grant his request, he fled to Paris. Whilst Henry was alarmed at this incident, his uneasiness was increased by the conduct of his queen, Eleanor, who was not less troublesome to her present husband by her jealousy, in regard to fair Rosamond and others, than she had been to her former by her gallantries. She communicated her discontents to her two younger sons, Geoffery and Richard; persuaded them that they were also entitled to the present possession of the territories which had been assigned them, and induced them to flee secretly to the court of France. Thus Europe saw with astonishment three boys, scarcely arrived at puberty, pretend to dethrone their father, a monarch in the full vigour of his age, and plenitude of his power.

The king of England was obliged to seek for auxiliaries in the tribes of banditti, who, under the name of Brabançons, or Cottereaux, proffered their swords to the most liberal employer. At the head of twenty thousand of these hardy and lawless ruffians, and the few troops that he had brought from Ireland, he attacked and defeated the French army, and crushed the insurgents in Brittany. He continued his negotiations in the midst of victory, and offered to his undutiful sons the most liberal terms; but these were rejected by the confederates, who depended on the league they had concerted with the king of Scotland, and several of the most powerful barons of England.

In consequence of that league, the king of Scotland broke into the northern provinces with a great army of eighty thousand men; and Henry, who had baffled all his

enemies in France, and had put his frontiers in a posture of defence, now found England the seat of danger. He landed at Southampton; and knowing the influence of superstition over the minds of the people, he hastened to Canterbury, in order to make atonement to the canonized ashes of Thomas à Becket. As soon as he came within sight of the church of Canterbury, he dismounted, walked barefoot towards it, prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy relicks. He also assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes which these ecclesiastics inflicted upon him. Next day he received absolution; and departing for London, soon after received the agreeable intelligence of a great victory which his generals had obtained over the Scots, in which William their king was taken prisoner, and which being gained, as was reported, on the very day of his absolution, was regarded as the earnest of his final reconciliation with Heaven and with Thomas à Becket.

This victory was decisive in favour of Henry, and entirely broke the spirit of the English rebels. In a few weeks all England was restored to tranquility. Lewis, the king of France, was obliged to consent to a cessation of arms, and engaged with sincerity in a treaty of peace; and Henry, after granting to his sons much less favourable terms than he had formerly offered, received their submissions. It cost the king of Scots the ancient independency of his crown, as the price of his liberty. William stipulated to do homage to Henry for Scotland and all his other possessions; and the English monarch engaged the king and states of Scotland to make a perpetual cession of the fortresses of Berwick and Roxbury, and to allow the castle of Edinburgh to remain in his hands for a limited time. This was the first great ascendant which England had over Scotland; and indeed the first important transaction between the kingdoms.

A few years after, Henry found his eldest son again engaged in conspiracies, and ready to take arms against him. But while the young prince was conducting these intrigues, he was seized with a fever at Martel, a castle near Tu-

renne, where he died full of remorse for his undutiful behaviour to his father.

A crusade had been once more projected ; but Philip, who filled the throne of France, and was jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private confederacy with young Richard. Philip demanded that Richard should be crowned king of England, be immediately invested with all his father's transmarine dominions, and espouse Alice, Philip's sister, to whom he had been already affianced. Henry refused to accede to these stipulations ; but experiencing a reverse of fortune, he was at length obliged to submit to the rigorous terms which, under the mediation of the duke of Burgundy, were offered to him.

The mortification, however, which Henry endured on this occasion, was increased by discovering that his fourth son, John, who had ever been his favourite, had secretly entered into the unnatural confederacy which Richard had formed against him. The unhappy father, already overloaded with cares and sorrows, finding this last disappointment in his domestic tenderness, broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the day on which he received his miserable being, and bestowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children a malediction which he could never be prevailed on to retract. The agitation of his mind threw him into a lingering fever, of which he expired at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign ; and he was buried at Fontevrault.

Henry was the greatest prince of his time for wisdom and abilities, and the most powerful, in extent of dominion, of all that had filled the throne of England. His character, in private as well as in public life, is almost without a blemish ; and he seems to have possessed every accomplishment, both of body and mind, which renders a man either estimable or amiable. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and abilities in war ; he was provident without timidity ; severe in the execution of justice without rigour ; and temperate without austerity.

The remorse of Richard for his undutiful behaviour towards his father, influenced him in the choice of his servants after his succession. Those who had
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favoured his rebellion were on all occasions treated with disregard and contempt, whilst the faithful ministers

of Henry, who had opposed the enterprises of his sons, were continued in those offices which they had honourably discharged to their former master.

The love of military glory impelled the king to act, from the beginning of his reign, as if the sole purpose of his government had been the relief of the Holy Land, and the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens. This zeal against infidels, being communicated to his subjects, broke out in London on the day of his coronation; when some Jews, who had presumed, contrary to the orders of the king, to approach the hall in which he dined, were dragged forth, and put to death, and vengeance fell on their innocent brethren. Instantly, their houses were broken open, their effects plundered, and themselves slaughtered. The inhabitants of other cities followed the example of the people of London; and in York, five hundred Jews, who had retired into the castle, finding themselves unable to defend it, murdered their own wives and children, and, setting fire to the house, perished in the flames.

Richard, regardless of every other consideration than the expedition to the Holy Land, endeavoured to obtain supplies for the exigencies of so perilous a war, by every expedient which he could devise. He put to sale the revenues and manors of the crown, and the offices of greatest trust and power. He yielded up for ten thousand marks the vassalage of Scotland, with the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwick. He even declared, that he would sell London itself, could he find a purchaser. He left the administration in the hands of Hugh, bishop of Durham, and of Longchamp, bishop of Ely; and, accompanied by all the military and fiery spirits of the kingdom, set out for the frontiers of Burgundy, where he had engaged to meet the French king.

In the plains of Vezelay, Richard and Philip reviewed their forces, and found their combined army amount to one hundred thousand men; and after repeating their vows of friendship to each other, they separated, Richard embarking at Marseilles, and Philip at Genoa. They reached Messina about the same time, and passed the winter in Sicily, where several quarrels broke out between the troops of the different nations; and these were communicated to the two kings, who, however, waiving immediate jealousies, proceeded to the Holy Land.

The English army arrived in time to partake in the siege of Acre or Ptolemais, which had been attacked for more than two years by the united force of all the christians in Palestine. The siege of Acre was pressed with redoubled ardour; but the harmony of the chiefs was of short duration. The opposite views of Richard and Philip produced faction and dissention in the christian army, and retarded all its operations. But as the length of the siege had reduced the Saracen garrison to the last extremity, they surrendered themselves prisoners; and the gates of Acre were opened to the conquerors.

On the surrender of this place, Philip, disgusted with the ascendancy acquired by Richard, declared his resolution of returning to France, under the plea of a bad state of health. He left, however, to the king of England, ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and engaged by oath not to commence hostilities against that prince's dominions during his absence; but he no sooner reached home, than he proceeded, though secretly, in a project which the present situation of England rendered inviting.

Immediately after Richard had left England, the two prelates, whom he had appointed guardians of the realm, broke out into animosities against each other, and threw the kingdom into confusion. Longchamp, naturally presumptuous, and armed with the legatine commission, hesitated not to arrest his colleague, the bishop of Durham, and governed the kingdom by his sole authority. At length, he had the temerity to throw into prison Geoffrey, archbishop of York. This breach of ecclesiastical privileges excited such an universal ferment, that prince John summoned the guardian before a council of the nobility and prelates. Longchamp, conscious of his error, fled beyond sea, and was deprived of his offices of chancellor and chief justiciary; but his commission of legate still enabled him to disturb the government. Philip not only promoted his intrigues, but entered into a correspondence with John, to whom he promised his sis-
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 ter Alice in marriage, and the possession of all Richard's transmarine dominions. John was with difficulty deterred from this enterprise by the vigilance of his mother, and the menaces of the council.

The jealousy of Philip was excited by the glory which

the actions of Richard gained him in the east. The king of England obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, of whom forty thousand are said to have perished in the field of battle ; he recovered Ascalon, and advanced within sight of Jerusalem, the object of his enterprise ; but long absence, fatigue, disease, and want, had abated the ardour of the crusaders. Every one, except the king of England, expressed a desire of returning into Europe. Richard was forced to yield to their importunities ; and he concluded a truce with Saladin, by which the christians were left in possession of Acre, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine, and were allowed a free pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

As Richard was acquainted with the intrigues of Philip, he ventured not to pass through France on his return, but sailed to the Adriatic ; and being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the disguise of a pilgrim, and endeavoured to pursue his route through Germany. At Vienna he was arrested by orders of Leopold, duke of Austria, and by him he was sold to the emperor Henry VI., who affected to consider him as an enemy, on account of an alliance which he had contracted with Tancred, king of Sicily. Thus Richard, who had filled the world with his renown, was confined in a dungeon, and loaded with irons.

The king of France prepared to avail himself of his misfortunes. Philip entered into negotiations with
 A. D. 1193 prince John, who stipulated to deliver to the king of France a great part of Normandy, and received, in return, the investiture of all Richard's transmarine dominions. In consequence of this treaty, Philip invaded Normandy, and by the treachery of John's adherents overran a great part of it ; but he was repulsed from the walls of Rouen, by the gallantry of the earl of Leicester. Prince John was not more successful in his attempt in England : though he made himself master of the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, yet finding the barons every where averse to his cause, he was obliged to retire again to France.

In the mean time, Richard, in Germany, suffered every kind of insult and indignity ; he was accused by Henry, before the diet of the empire, of making an alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily ; of affronting the duke of Austria before Acre ; of obstructing the progress of the christian arms by his quarrels with the king of France ;

and of concluding a truce with Saladin, and leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Saracen emperor. Richard, after deigning to apologise for his conduct, burst out into indignation at the cruel treatment which he had met with; and the emperor, finding it impracticable to detain the king of England longer in captivity, agreed to restore him to his freedom for the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand marks, or about three hundred thousand pounds of our present money.

The joy of the English was extreme on the appearance of their monarch, who was crowned anew at Winchester, as if to wipe off the ignominy of captivity. As soon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance, he wrote to his confederate John in these terms: "take care of yourself—the devil is broken loose." John, however, anxious to disengage himself from an associate whose fortunes seemed declining, threw himself at his brother's feet, and implored his mercy. "I forgive you," said the king, "and hope I shall as easily forget your injuries, as you will my pardon."

The king of France was the great object of Richard's resentment and animosity; and during five years after the king's return, the two sovereigns were engaged in a series of faithless negotiations and desultory warfare. The cardinal of St. Mary, the pope's legate, was employed in changing a truce into a durable peace, when the death of Richard put an end to the negotiation.

Vidomer, viscount of Limoges, having found a treasure, it was claimed by Richard, as his superior lord; and that nobleman was besieged by the king in the castle of Châlons. As Richard approached to survey the works, one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, pierced his shoulder with an arrow. The wound was not dangerous; but the unskilfulness of the surgeon rendered it mortal. The king, sensible that his end was approaching, sent for Gourdon, and said, "wretch, what have I ever done to you, to induce you to seek my life?" The prisoner coolly replied, "you killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers: I am now in your power, and you may take revenge, by inflicting on me the most severe torments; but I shall endure them with pleasure, provided I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world from such a nuisance." The mind of Richard was softened by

the near approach of death, and the magnanimity of Gourdon; he ordered him to be set at liberty, and a sum of money to be given him; but Marcadee, one of Richard's generals, privately seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him.

Thus died Richard, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age. The most shining parts of his character are his military talents, and his personal courage, which gained him the appellation of "Cœur de Lion," or "the Lion-hearted." He was, however, a passionate lover of poetry; and some poetical works of his composition are still extant. He left behind him no issue; and by his last will, he declared his brother John heir to all his dominions, though by a formal deed before he embarked for the Holy Land, he had named as his successor, his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, the son of Geoffrey, elder brother of John, who was now only twelve years of age.

The barons of the transmarine provinces, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared in favour of Arthur, and
A. D. applied for assistance to the French monarch.
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Philip, who desired only an occasion to embarrass John, and to dismember his dominions, embraced the cause of the young duke of Brittany. John, after being acknowledged in Normandy and England, returned to France, in order to conduct the war against Philip. Nothing enabled the king to bring matters to a happy issue so much as the selfish and intriguing character of the French monarch. Constantia, the mother of Arthur, was jealous that Philip intended to usurp the entire dominion of the provinces which had declared for her son. She, therefore, secretly carried off her son from Paris, put him into the hands of his uncle, restored the provinces which had adhered to him, and made him do homage for the duchy of Brittany, which was regarded as a fief of Normandy. As Philip, after this incident, saw that he could not carry on the war with success, he entered into a treaty with John, in which the limits of their territories were adjusted; and, to render their union more permanent, the king of England gave his niece, Blanche of Castile, in marriage to prince Louis, Philip's eldest son, and with her the baronies of Issoudun and Gracai, and other fiefs in Berri.

Thus secure, as he imagined, on the side of France,

John indulged his passion for Isabella, the daughter of the count of Angouleme, a lady with whom he had become much enamoured. Though his queen, the heiress of the family of Gloucester, was still alive, and Isabella was betrothed to the count of Marche, the passion of the king overcame every obstacle; he persuaded the count of Angouleme to carry off his daughter from her husband; and having procured a divorce from his wife, he espoused Isabella, regardless of the menaces of the people, and of the resentment of the injured count.

John had not the art of attaching his barons either by affection or by fear. The count of Marche taking advantage of the general discontent against him, excited commotions in Poictou and Normandy, and obliged the king to have recourse to arms in order to suppress the insurrection of his vassals. He summoned together the barons of England, and required them to pass the sea under his standard, and to quell the rebels; but he found that he possessed as little authority in that kingdom as in his transmarine provinces. The English barons unanimously replied, that they would not attend him on this expedition, unless he would promise to restore and preserve their privileges; but John, by menaces, engaged many of them to follow him into Normandy, and obliged the rest to pay the price of their exemption from service. The force which the king carried with him, and that which joined him in Normandy, rendered him greatly superior to the malcontents; but, elated with his superiority, he advanced claims which gave an universal alarm to his vassals, and diffused still wider the general discontent. The king of France, to whom the complainants appealed for redress, interposed in behalf of the French barons.

Whilst matters were thus circumstanced, the duke of Brittany, who was rising to man's estate, joined the king of France and the revolted nobles. Impatient of military renown, the young prince had entered Poictou with a small army, and had invested Mirabeau, in which was his grandmother, queen Eleanor, when John attacked his camp, dispersed his army, and took him prisoner. The king represented to Arthur the folly of his pretensions, and required him to renounce the French alliance; but the brave, though imprudent youth, maintained the justice of his cause, and asserted his claim not only to the French provinces, but to

the crown of England. John, sensible, from these symptoms of spirit, that the young prince might hereafter prove a dangerous rival, ordered him to be despatched; but when he found that his commands had not been obeyed, the cruel tyrant stabbed him with his own hands, and fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine.

All men were struck with horror at this inhuman deed; and from that moment the king, who was now detested by his subjects, retained a very precarious authority over both the people and the barons in his dominions. As John had got into his power his niece Eleanor, sister to Arthur, the Bretons chose for their sovereign Alice, a younger daughter of Constantia, by a second marriage. They also solicited the assistance of Philip, who received their application with pleasure, summoned John to a trial, and on his non-appearance, declared him to have forfeited to his superior lord all his fiefs in France.

The king of France perceived the opportunity favourable for expelling the English, or rather the English king, and of re-annexing to the French crown so many considerable appendages, of which, during several ages, it had been dismembered. Philip extended his conquests along the banks of the Loire, while John consumed his hours at Rouen in pastimes and amusements. "Let the French go on," said he, "I will retake in a day what it has cost them years to acquire." Yet, instead of fulfilling this vaunt, he meanly applied to the pope, Innocent III., who ordered Philip to stop the progress of his arms, and to conclude a peace with the king of England. Philip, however, instead of obeying the orders of the pope, laid siege to Chateau Gaillard, the most considerable fortress on the frontiers of Normandy, which was taken by a sudden assault in the night. When the bulwark of Normandy was once subdued, the whole province was open to the inroads of Philip. The French king proceeded to invest Rouen, the inhabitants of which demanded thirty days to advertise their prince of their danger. Upon the expiration of that term they opened their gates; and Philip, leading his victorious army into the western provinces, soon reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poictou. John made a feeble attempt to recover his transmarine dominions, by landing a considerable army at Rochelle; but the approach of Philip threw him into a

panic, and he deserted his troops, and returned to England with shame and disgrace. The mediation of the pope procured him a truce for two years with the French monarch; but almost all the transmarine provinces were wrested from him; and the church, which, at that time, declined not a contest with the most powerful monarchs, took advantage of John's imbecility.

Innocent the Third, a prelate of a lofty and enterprising genius, attempted to convert the superiority yielded him by all the European princes into a real ^{A. D.} dominion over them. ¹²⁰⁷ A dispute respecting an election to the see of Canterbury, afforded Innocent an opportunity of claiming a right to nominate the primate of England. Availing himself of this opportunity, he commanded the monks or canons of Christ-church, who had hitherto possessed that important privilege, to choose, on pain of excommunication, cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but connected by interest and attachment to the see of Rome. In vain the monks represented, that an election, without a previous writ from the king, would be highly irregular; and that they were merely agents for another person, whose right they could not abandon. One only persevered in this opposition; the rest, overcome by the menaces and authority of the pope, complied with his mandate.

John was inflamed with the utmost rage when he heard of this interference of the court of Rome; and he immediately vented his passion on the monks of Christ-church, whom he expelled the monastery. When it was intimated to him that if he persevered in his disobedience, the sovereign pontiff would be obliged to lay the kingdom under an interdict, the king burst out into violent invectives, and swore if the pope attempted such a measure, that he would send to him all the bishops and clergy in England, and confiscate all their estates. These sallies of passion, however, were disregarded by the Roman pontiff, who, sensible that John had lost the confidence of the people, at length fulminated the sentence of interdict.

The execution of this sentence was calculated to strike with awe the minds of a superstitious people. The nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the dead were not interred in consecrated ground, but were

thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields; marriage was solemnized in the church-yards; and every circumstance carried symptoms of the most immediate apprehension of divine vengeance.

The king, that he might oppose his temporal to their spiritual terrors, confiscated the estates of all the clergy who obeyed the interdict; and treated with the utmost rigour the adherents of the church of Rome. Though some of the clergy, from the dread of punishment, obeyed the orders of John, and celebrated divine service, yet they complied with the utmost reluctance, and were regarded, both by themselves and the people, as men who betrayed their principles, and sacrificed their conscience to their fears or their interests.

As the interdict had not reduced the king to obedience, and the people had not risen in rebellion, the court
A. D. 1209 of Rome determined to proceed to excommunication. John was now alarmed at his dangerous situation. In a conference at Dover, he offered to acknowledge Langton as primate, to submit to the pope, and to restore the exiled clergy; but Langton demanding the full reparation for the rents of their confiscated estates, the king broke off the conference. Innocent immediately absolved John's subjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance; declared every one excommunicated who held any intercourse with him; deposed him from his throne; and offered the crown of England to the king of France.

Philip was seduced by interest to accept this offer of the pontiff. He levied a great army, and collected in the ports of Normandy and Picardy a fleet of one thousand seven hundred vessels. To oppose him, John assembled at Dover an army of sixty thousand men; a force sufficient, had they been animated with zeal; but the minds of the common people were impressed with superstition; the barons were all disgusted with the tyranny of the king; and the incapacity and cowardice of John augmented his difficulties. The obstinacy of the humbled monarch at length gave way, when Pandolf, the pope's legate, represented to him the certainty of his ruin, from the disaffection of his subjects, and the mighty armament of France. John now agreed to all the conditions which Pandolf was pleased to impose. He passed a charter, in which he declared he had, for the remission of his own sins, and those

Death of Prince Arthur.

John's submission to the Pope.

of his family, resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair; agreeing to hold those dominions as feudatories of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thousand marks. He did homage to Pandolf in the most abject manner: he fell on his knees before the legate, who was seated on the throne; swore fealty to the pope; and paid part of the money which he owed for his kingdom as the patrimony of St. Peter; whilst the legate, elated by the triumph of sacerdotal power, trampled on the money which was laid at his feet, as an earnest of the subjection of the kingdom.

When Pandolf returned to France, he informed Philip, that John had returned to obedience under the apostolic see, and even consented to do homage to the pope for his dominions; and that, as his kingdom now formed a part of St. Peter's patrimony, it would be impious in any christian prince to attack him. Philip was enraged on receiving this intelligence, and threatened to execute his enterprise against England, notwithstanding the inhibitions and menaces of the legate; but the English fleet, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, the king's natural brother, attacked the French in their harbours, and by the destruction of the greater part of their armament, compelled Philip to abandon the enterprise.

The introduction of the feudal system into England by William the conqueror, had infringed on the liberties enjoyed by the Anglo-Saxons, and had reduced the people to a state of vassalage, and in some respects of real slavery, to the king or barons. The necessity, also, of entrusting great power in the hands of a prince, who was to maintain military dominion over a vanquished nation, had engaged the Norman barons to submit to a more severe and absolute prerogative, than that to which men of their rank were commonly subjected; and England, during a course of an hundred and fifty years, was governed by an authority unknown, in the same degree, to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Henry the first, that he might allure the people to exclude his elder brother, Robert, had granted them a charter, favourable, in many particulars, to their liberties; Stephen had renewed the grant; Henry the second had confirmed it; but the concessions of all these princes had remained a dead letter;

when John, equally odious and contemptible, both in public and private life, provoked the people to form a general confederacy, and to demand a restoration of their privileges.

Nothing forwarded this confederacy so much as the concurrence of Langton, archbishop of Canterbury; a man whose memory, though he was obtruded on the nation by a palpable encroachment of the see of Rome, ought always to be respected by the English. This prelate formed the plan of reforming the government, and paved the way for it, by inserting a clause in the oath which he administered to the king, before he would absolve him from excommunication, "that he would re-establish the good laws of his predecessors, and abolish the wicked ones, and maintain justice and right in all his dominions." Soon after he showed to some of the barons a copy of the charter of Henry the first, which, he said, he had found in a monastery, and exhorted them to insist on its renewal. The barons swore they would lose their lives sooner than desist from so reasonable a demand. The confederacy now spread wider; and a more numerous meeting was summoned by Langton at St. Edmund's-Bury, under colour of devotion. The barons, inflamed by the eloquence of the prelate, and incited by the sense of their own wrongs, took an oath before the altar, to adhere to each other, and to make endless war on the king, till he should grant their demands. They agreed that they would prefer in a body their common petition; and that, in the mean time, they would enlist men and purchase arms, and supply their castles with necessary provisions.

On a day appointed, the barons appeared in London, and required the king, in consequence of his oath
A. D. 1215 before the primate, as well as in deference to their just rights, to renew the charter of Henry, and confirm the laws of St. Edward. The king, alarmed at their zeal and unanimity, as well as their power, asked for a delay, which was granted. The interval was employed by John in appealing to the pope against the violence of the barons. Innocent, who foresaw that if the administration should fall into the hands of a high-spirited nobility, they would vindicate the liberty and independence of the nation, exhorted the prelates to employ their good offices in putting an end to civil discord, expressed his disapprobation

of the conduct of the barons, and advised the king to grant such demands as should appear reasonable.

Though the barons perceived that the pope was inimical to their interests, yet they had advanced too far to recede from their pretensions; and they foresaw, that the thunders of Rome, when not seconded by the efforts of the English ecclesiastics, would avail little against them. At the time, therefore, when they were to expect the king's answer to their petition, they met at Stamford, and assembled their forces, consisting of about two thousand knights, besides retainers and inferior persons without number. Elated with their power, they advanced in a body to Brackley, within twenty miles of Oxford, the place where the court then resided; and where they received a message from the king, desiring to know what those liberties were, which they so zealously required from their sovereign. They delivered to the messenger a schedule, containing the chief articles of their demand; which was no sooner shown to John, than he burst into a furious passion, swearing he would never grant such privileges as must reduce himself to slavery.

The confederated nobles, informed of his answer, proceeded without farther ceremony to levy war upon the king. They besieged the castle of Northampton, were admitted into that of Bedford, occupied Ware, and entered London without opposition. They laid waste the royal parks and palaces; and all the barons, who had hitherto appeared to support the king, openly joined a cause which they had secretly favoured. So universal was the defection, that the king was left at Odiham, in Hampshire, with a retinue of only seven knights; and after trying several expedients, and offering to refer all differences to the pope, he found himself at last obliged to yield without reserve.

A conference between the king and the barons was held at Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines; a place which has ever since been celebrated, on account of that great event. After a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility rather suspicious, signed and sealed the famous deed called MAGNA CHARTA, or the GREAT CHARTER, which either granted or secured very important liberties to the clergy, the barons, and the people. The articles of this charter contain such mitigations and explanations of the feudal law

June 19,
A. D.
1215

as are reasonable and equitable; and also involve all the chief outlines of a legal government, providing for the equal distribution of justice and the free enjoyment of property. The barons obliged the king to agree that London should remain in their hands, and the Tower be consigned to the custody of the primate, till the execution of the charter. John also allowed the confederates to choose from their own body twenty-five members, to whose authority no limits were prescribed, either in extent or duration. All men throughout the kingdom were obliged, under the penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons; and the freeholders of each county were to choose twelve knights, who should make reports of such civil customs as required redress, conformably to the tenor of the great charter.

John apparently submitted to all these regulations, however injurious to majesty; but he only awaited a proper opportunity for annulling his concessions. He retired to the Isle of Wight, where he meditated the most fatal vengeance against his enemies. He secretly sent his emissaries to enlist foreign troops, and to invite the rapacious Brabançons into his service; and he despatched a messenger to Rome, to complain, before that tribunal, of the violence which had been imposed upon him. Innocent, considering himself as feudal lord of the kingdom, issued a bull, by which he annulled the whole charter, as unjust in itself, and derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see. He prohibited the barons from exacting the observance of it; he prohibited the king from paying any regard to it; and he pronounced a general sentence of excommunication against every one who should persevere in maintaining such iniquitous proceedings.

As the foreign forces arrived along with this bull, the king, under the sanction of the pope's decree,* threw off the mask. The barons, enticed into a fatal security, had taken no rational measures for re-assembling their armies. The king was master of the field; his rapacious mercenaries were let loose against the estates, the tenants, the houses, and parks of the nobility; nothing was to be seen but the flames of villages, and castles reduced to ashes,

* To the honour of Langton, the primate, he refused to publish the papal mandate.

the consternation and misery of the inhabitants, and the tortures exercised by the soldiers to cause them to reveal their concealed treasures. The king, marching through the whole extent of England, from Dover to Berwick, laid the provinces waste on each side of him, and considered every part of the country, which was not his immediate property, as hostile, and the object of military execution.

The barons, reduced to this desperate extremity, employed a remedy no less desperate. They applied to the court of France, and offered to acknowledge ^{A. D.} Lewis, the eldest son of Philip, as their sovereign, ¹²¹⁶ provided he would protect them from the violence of the tyrant. The prospect of such a prize rendered Philip regardless of the menaces of the court of Rome, which threatened him with excommunication if he attacked a prince under the protection of the holy see; but he refused to intrust his son and heir to the caprice of the English, unless they would deliver to him twenty-five of their most illustrious nobles, as hostages for their fidelity; and having obtained this security, he sent over Lewis with a numerous army.

In consequence of that young prince's appearance in England, John's foreign troops, being mostly levied in Flanders, and other provinces of France, refused to serve against the heir of their monarchy. Many considerable noblemen deserted John's party; his castles fell daily into the hands of the enemy; and Dover was the only place which resisted the progress of Lewis. But the union between the English and the French was of short duration; the preference of Lewis to the latter soon excited the jealousy of the former; and the French began to apprehend a sudden reverse of fortune. The king was assembling a considerable army, with an intention of fighting one great battle for his crown; but passing from Lynne to Lincolnshire, his road lay along the sea-shore, which was overflowed at high-water, and not choosing the proper time for his journey, he lost in the inundation all his carriages, treasure, baggage, and regalia. The affliction for this disaster, and vexation from the distracted state of his affairs, increased an indisposition under which he then laboured; and though he reached the castle of Newark, he soon after died, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. He left two legitimate sons, Henry and

Richard, the eldest of whom was only nine years old, and the other seven.

The character of John is a complication of vices equally mean and odious; cowardice, levity, licentiousness, ingratitude, treachery, tyranny, and cruelty. It is hard to say whether his conduct to his father, his brother, his nephew, or his subjects, was most culpable. By his misconduct he lost the flourishing provinces of France, the ancient patrimony of his family; he subjected his kingdom to a shameful vassalage under the see of Rome; and he died when in danger of being totally expelled by a foreign power, and of either ending his life in prison, or in seeking shelter as a fugitive from the pursuit of his enemies.

CHAP. V.

The reigns of Henry III., Edward I., and Edward II.

FORTUNATELY for Henry III., as well as for the nation, the earl of Pembroke was, at the time of John's death, mareschal of England, and at the head of the armies. This nobleman, who had maintained his loyalty to John, was chosen protector of the realm, during the king's minority, by a general council of the barons. That he might reconcile all men to the government of his pupil, he made him grant a new charter of liberties, which, though mostly similar to that extorted from John, contained some alterations. This was followed by a charter of forests, which declared offences committed in the king's forests no longer capital, but only punishable by fine and imprisonment.

These charters diffused so much satisfaction as evidently to affect the cause of Lewis. The distrust which the French prince manifested of the fidelity of the English, encouraged the general propensity towards the king. A large detachment of the French was routed near Lincoln; and their fleet suffered a considerable defeat off the coast of Kent. After these events, the malcontent barons hastened by an early submission to prevent those attainders to which they were exposed on account of their rebellion; and Lewis, whose cause was now totally desperate, readily consented to conclude a peace on honourable conditions, promising to evacuate the kingdom, and only stipulating, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, and a restitution

of their honours and fortunes. Thus was happily ended a civil war, which had threatened the kingdom with the most fatal consequences.

The earl of Pembroke did not long survive the pacification, which had been chiefly owing to his wisdom and valour; and he was succeeded in the government by Peter des Rosches, bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. The counsels of the latter were chiefly followed; and had he possessed equal influence with Pembroke, he seemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that virtuous nobleman. But the licentious and powerful barons, having once broken the reins of subjection to their prince, could ill be restrained by laws under a minority; and the people, no less than the king, suffered from their outrages. They retained by force the royal castles; they usurped the king's demesnes; they oppressed their vassals; and they protected the worst kind of banditti in their robberies and extortions, in defiance of legal government.

As Henry approached to man's estate, his character became every day better known, and he was found incapable of maintaining a proper authority over ^{A. D.} 1227 the turbulent barons. Gentle, humane, and merciful, even to a fault, he seems to have been steady in nothing else, but to have received every impression from those who surrounded him. Without activity or vigour, he was unfit to conduct war; without policy or art, he was ill calculated to maintain peace. His resentments, though hasty and violent, were not dreaded, while he was found to drop them with such facility; his friendships were little valued, because they were neither derived from choice, nor maintained with constancy.

That able and faithful minister, Hubert de Burgh, was in a sudden fit of caprice dismissed by Henry, and exposed to the most violent persecutions. Among other frivolous crimes objected to him, he was accused of gaining the king's affections by enchantments. Hubert was expelled the kingdom, and was again received into favour, and recovered a great share of the king's confidence; but he never showed any inclination to reinstate himself in power or authority.

Hubert was succeeded in the government of the king

and kingdom by Peter, bishop of Winchester, a
 A. D. Poitevin by birth, no less distinguished by his ar-
 1233 bitrary principles and violent conduct, than by his
 courage and abilities. Through his advice, Henry invited
 over a great number of Poitevins, and other foreigners,
 who, he believed, could be more safely trusted than the
 English. Every office was bestowed on these strangers,
 who exhausted the revenues of the crown, and invaded the
 rights of the people. A combination of the nobles, formed
 against this odious ministry, was broken by the address of
 Peter; the estates of the more obnoxious barons were con-
 fiscated, without a legal sentence or trial by their peers;
 and when the authority of the Great Charter was objected
 to the king, Henry was wont to reply, "why should I ob-
 serve this charter, which is neglected by all my grandees,
 both prelates and nobility?" To this it was justly answer-
 ed, "you ought, sir, to set them the example."

So violent an administration as that of the bishop of
 Winchester could not be of long duration; yet its fall pro-
 ceeded from the church, not from the efforts of the nobles.
 Edmond, the primate, attended by many other prelates,
 represented to the king the pernicious measures of Peter,
 and required the dismissal of him and his associates, un-
 der pain of excommunication. Henry was obliged to sub-
 mit; but the English were not long free from the domi-
 nion of foreigners. The king, having married

A. D. Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, was
 1236 surrounded by a great number of strangers from
 that country, whom he enriched by the most arbitrary ex-
 actions upon his subjects.

The foreign enterprises of Henry were equally disgrace-
 ful with his domestic government. In a war with Louis
 IX., he was stripped of what remained to him of Poictou.
 His want of economy, and an ill-judged liberality, obliged
 him to sell all his plate and jewels. When this expedient
 was first proposed to him, he asked, where he should find
 purchasers? It was replied, the citizens of London.
 "On my word," said he, "these clowns who assume to
 themselves the name of barons, abound in every thing,
 while we are reduced to necessities."

The grievances under which the English laboured from
 the faults of the king, were considerably increased by the
 usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome. About

1229, pope Honorius demanded, and obtained, the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues. In the year 1240, Otho the legate wrested large sums from the prelates and convents, and is said to have carried more money out of the kingdom than he left in it. The king, who relied on the pope for the support of his tottering authority, never failed to countenance those exactions.

The successful revolt of the barons from king John had rendered them more sensible of their own importance. The parliament, which seems to have had some authority in this reign, refused an aid, unless Henry would promise, at the same time, a redress of civil and ecclesiastical grievances, and ratify the great charter in the most solemn manner. To this the king consented; but, misled by his favourites, he soon resumed the same arbitrary measures of government.

The conduct of Henry afforded a pretence to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, for attempting to wrest the sceptre from the feeble hand which held it. This nobleman had espoused Eleanor, dowager to William earl of Pembroke, and sister to the king. His address gained him the affections of all orders of men; but he lost the friendship of Henry from the usual levity and fickleness of that prince. He was banished the court, recalled, and again disgraced by the king. Being too great to preserve an entire complaisance to Henry's humours, and to act in subserviency to the minions of that prince, he found more advantage in cultivating his interests with the public, and in inflaming the general discontents. He filled every place with complaints against the infringement of the great charter; and a quarrel which he had with William de Valence, the king's half-brother, and chief favourite, determined him to give full scope to his ambition. He secretly called a meeting of the most considerable barons, particularly Humphrey de Bohun, high constable, Roger Bigod, earl mareschal, and the earls of Warwick and Gloucester. To them he exaggerated the oppressions exercised against the lower orders of the state, the violations of the barons' privileges, and the continual depredations made on the clergy; and he appealed to the great charter which Henry had so often ratified, and which was calculated to prevent the return of those grievances. He magnified the generosity of their ancestors, who, at the

expense of their blood had extorted that famous concession from the crown ; but he lamented their own degeneracy, who allowed so important an advantage to be wrested from them by a weak prince and insolent parasites.

These topics were well suited to the sentiments of the company, and the barons embraced a resolution of redressing the public grievances, by taking into their own hands the administration of government. Henry having summoned a parliament, the barons appeared in the hall clad in complete armour, and with their swords by their sides. The king, struck with their unusual appearance, asked, whether they intended to make him their prisoner ? Roger Bigod replied in the name of the rest, " that he was not their prisoner, but their sovereign ; but that, as he had frequently acknowledged his past errors, and had still allowed himself to be carried in the same path, he must now yield to more strict regulations, and confer authority on those who were able and willing to redress the national grievances." Henry, partly allured by the hope of supply, partly intimidated by the union and martial appearance of the barons, agreed to their demand, and promised to summon another parliament at Oxford, in order to digest the new plan of government.

This parliament, which, from the confusion that attended its measures, was afterwards denominated the " mad parliament," chose twelve barons, to whom were added twelve more from the king's ministers. To these twenty-four, unlimited authority was granted to reform the state ; and as Leicester was at the head of this supreme council, to which the legislative power was in reality transferred, all their measures were taken by his influence and direction. They ordered that four knights should be chosen by each county, who should inquire into the grievances of the people, and inform the assembly of the state of their particular counties ; that three sessions of parliament should be regularly held every year ; that a new sheriff should be annually elected by the votes of the freeholders of each county ; that no heirs should be committed to the wardship of foreigners, and no castles intrusted to their custody ; and that no new warrens or forests should be created, nor the revenues of any counties or hundreds be let to farm.

The earl of Leicester and his associates, having pro-

ceeded so far to satisfy the nation, instead of continuing in this popular course, or granting the king those supplies which they had promised, provided for the extension of their own authority. They displaced all the chief officers of the crown ; and advanced either themselves or their own creatures in their place. The whole power of the state being thus transferred to them, they obliged every man to swear, that they would obey and execute all the regulations of the twenty-four barons ; and they chose a committee of twelve persons, who, during the intervals of the sessions, were to possess the whole authority of parliament.

But the stream of popularity rapidly turned against them. Whatever support the barons might have derived from the private power of their families, was weakened by their intestine jealousies and animosities. A violent enmity broke out between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester ; the latter, more moderate in his designs, was desirous of stopping or retarding the usurpations of the barons ; but the former, enraged at the opposition he met with in his own party, pretended to throw up all concern in English affairs, and retired into France.

On the death of the earl of Gloucester, who, before his decease, had joined the royal party, Leicester entered into a confederacy with Llewellyn, prince of Wales. Llewellyn invaded England with an army of thirty thousand men, but was repulsed, and obliged to take shelter in the north of Wales. The Welsh invasion was the signal for the malcontent barons to rise in arms. Leicester secretly passed over into England, collected all the forces of his party, and commenced an open rebellion. The power of Leicester's faction increased to such a height, that the king, unable to resist it, was obliged to seek an accommodation. He agreed to confirm the provisions of Oxford, and reinstated the barons in the sovereignty of the kingdom. The latter summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, in order to settle the plan of government ; and, in that assembly, they produced a new list of twenty-four barons, whose authority they insisted should continue not only during the reign of the king, but also during that of prince Edward.

This prince, the life and soul of the royal party, had been taken prisoner by Leicester in a parley at Windsor ;

and that event had chiefly determined Henry to submit to the ignominious conditions imposed on him by the barons. Edward, however, having recovered his liberty by the treaty, employed his activity in defending the prerogatives of his family. The number of his friends, and the clamour of the people for peace, obliged the earl of Leicester to consent to a second negotiation; and it was agreed by both sides to submit their differences to the arbitration of the king of France.

This virtuous prince had never ceased to interpose his good offices between the English factions; and at Amiens, in the presence of the states of France, of the king of England, and of Peter de Montfort, Leicester's son, he brought this great cause to a trial. He annulled the provisions of Oxford, restored to the king the possession of his castles, and the nomination of the great offices; but he ordered that a general amnesty should be granted for all past offences, and declared that his award was in no wise meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties which the nation enjoyed by any former charters.

This equitable sentence was rejected by Leicester and his confederates, who determined to have recourse
A. D. 1264 to arms, in which they were assisted by the city of London. The king and the prince, finding a civil war inevitable, prepared themselves for defence, and summoned to their standard their military vassals; while Leicester, having been reinforced by a great body of Londoners, determined to stake the fate of the nation on a decisive engagement. Leicester conducted his march with so much skill and secrecy, that he had nearly surprised the royalists in their quarters at Lewes, in Sussex; but the vigilance and activity of prince Edward soon repaired this negligence. With the van he rushed upon the Londoners, who, from their ignorance of discipline, and want of experience, were ill fitted to resist the ardour of Edward and his martial companions: they were broken in an instant, and chased off the field for four miles. But when Edward returned from the pursuit, he was astonished to find the ground covered with the dead bodies of his friends, and still more to hear that his father, and his uncle Richard, king of the Romans, had been defeated and taken prisoners. In this exigency, the gallant prince was obliged to submit to Leicester's terms, which were laconic

and severe. He stipulated, that Edward, and Henry d'Allmaine, the son of the king of the Romans, should surrender themselves pledges in lieu of the two kings; that all other prisoners on both sides should be released; and that the king of France should name six Frenchmen, who should choose two others of their own country; and these two should appoint one Englishman, and that these three persons should be invested with full powers to make what regulations they should deem necessary for the settlement of the kingdom.

The prince and young Henry accordingly delivered themselves into Leicester's hands, who sent them under a guard to Dover castle; but he had no sooner got the whole royal family in his power, than he openly violated every article of the treaty, and acted as sole master, and even tyrant of the kingdom. No farther mention was made of the reference to the king of France; and Leicester summoned a parliament, composed altogether of his own partisans, who voted the royal power should be exercised by nine persons, to be chosen and removed by the majority of three, Leicester himself, the earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester. By this plan of government, the sceptre was really put into Leicester's hands, as he had the entire direction of the bishop of Chichester. Leicester, however, summoned a new parliament in London. Besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each shire, and what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs, an order of men which in former ages had always been regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in the national councils. This period is commonly ^{A. D.} 1265 esteemed the epoch of the house of commons in England, and it is certainly the first time that historians speak of any representatives sent to parliament from the boroughs.

The earl of Gloucester, becoming disgusted with the arbitrary conduct of Leicester, retired for safety to his estates on the borders of Wales; Leicester followed him with an army to Hereford; and that he might add authority to his cause, he carried both the king and prince along with him. The earl of Gloucester here concerted with young Edward the manner of that prince's escape. He furnished him with a swift horse, and appointed a small party

to receive the prince, and guard him to a place of safety. Edward pretended to take the air with some of his guards ; and making matches between their horses until he thought he had tired them, he suddenly mounted Gloucester's horse, bade them adieu, and reached his friends.

The royalists, secretly prepared for this event, immediately flew to arms. Leicester finding himself in a remote quarter of the kingdom, surrounded by his enemies, and barred from all communication with his friends by the Severn, whose bridges Edward had broken down, wrote to his son, Simon de Montfort, to hasten from London with an army for his relief. Simon had advanced to Kenilworth with that view, where, fancying that all Edward's force and attention were directed against his father, he lay secure and unguarded ; but the prince, making a sudden and forced march, surprised him in his camp, dispersed his army, and took the earl of Oxford and many other noblemen prisoners, almost without resistance. Leicester, ignorant of his son's fate, passed the Severn in boats during Edward's absence, and lay at Evesham, in expectation of being every hour joined by his friends from London ; when the prince, who availed himself of every favourable movement, appeared in the field before him. The battle immediately began, though on very unequal terms. Leicester's army, by living on the mountains of Wales without bread, which was not then much used among the inhabitants, had been extremely weakened by sickness and desertion, and was soon broken by the victorious royalists ; while his Welsh allies, accustomed only to a desultory kind of war, immediately took to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter. Leicester himself, asking for quarter, was slain in the heat of the action, with his eldest son, Henry, Hugh le Despenser, and about a hundred and sixty knights, and many other gentlemen of his party. The old king had been purposely placed by the rebels in the front of the battle ; and being clad in armour, and thereby not known by his friends, he received a wound, and was in danger of his life ; but crying out, " I am Henry of Winchester, your king," he was rescued and carried to a place of safety.

The victory of Evesham, with the death of Leicester, proved decisive in favour of the royalists ; but they used it with moderation. No sacrifices of national liberty were made on this occasion ; the great

charter remained inviolate; and they carefully abstained from all those exertions of power, which had afforded so plausible a pretext to the rebels. The mild disposition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the insolence of victory.

Prince Edward finding the state of the kingdom tolerably composed, was impelled by his avidity for glory, by the prejudices of the age, and by the earnest solicitations of the king of France, to undertake an expedition against the infidels in the Holy Land. He sailed from England with an army; but when he arrived at Tunis, he found Lewis had died from the heat of the climate and the fatigues of the enterprise. Not discouraged, however, by this event, he continued his voyage to the Holy Land, where he signalized himself by acts of valour, and revived the glory of the English name.

In the mean time, his absence from England was productive of the most fatal consequences; the laws were not executed; the barons oppressed the common people with impunity; and the populace of London returned to their usual licentiousness. The old king, unequal to the burthen of public affairs, called aloud for his gallant son to return, and to assist him in swaying that sceptre which was ready to drop from his feeble and irresolute hands. At last, overcome by the cares of government, and the infirmities of age, he visibly declined, and expired at Edmondsbury, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and fifty-sixth of his reign; the longest reign that is to be met with in the English annals, except that of our late sovereign. He left two sons, Edward, his successor, and Edmond earl of Lancaster; and two daughters, Margaret queen of Scotland, and Beatrix duchess of Brittany. The most obvious circumstance of Henry's character is, his incapacity for government, which rendered him as much a prisoner in the hands of his ministers and favourites, as when a captive in the hands of his enemies. From this source, rather than from insincerity or treachery, arose his negligence in observing his promises. Hence, too, were derived his profusion to favourites, his attachment to strangers, the variableness of his conduct, his hasty resentments, and the sudden return of affection. Greater abilities, with his good dispositions, would have prevented him from falling

into his faults; or, with worse dispositions, would have enabled him to maintain them.

Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, where he had been wounded with a poisonous dagger, when he received intelligence of the death of his father. As he was assured of the quiet settlement of the kingdom, he was in no hurry to take possession of the throne, but spent near a year in France, and did homage to Philip for the dominions which he held in that country. At length he arrived in England, where he was received with the most joyful acclamations, and was solemnly crowned at Westminster, by Robert, archbishop of Canterbury.

The king immediately applied himself to correct those disorders which civil commotions had introduced. By a rigid execution of the laws, he gave protection to the inferior orders of the state, and diminished the arbitrary power of the barons. He appointed a commission to inquire into crimes of all kinds; and the adulteration of the coin of the realm being imputed chiefly to the Jews, he let loose on them the whole rigours of his justice. In London alone, two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at once for this crime; fifteen thousand were rebbed of their effects, and banished the kingdom; and since that period they have never been so numerous in England.

Llewellyn, prince of Wales, had entered into all the conspiracies of the Montfort faction against the crown; and refusing to do homage to the new king, Edward levied an army to reduce him to obedience. Llewellyn retired among the hills of Snowdon; but Edward pierced into the heart of the country, and obliged him to submit at discretion. He did homage, and permitted his barons to swear fealty to the crown of England; and he also relinquished the country between Cheshire and the river Conway. However, the insolence of the English, who oppressed the inhabitants of the districts ceded to them, raised the indignation of the Welsh, who again took to arms. Edward advanced into Wales with an army which could not be resisted. Llewellyn was surprised and slain, with two thousand of his followers; and his brother David, after being chased from hill to hill, was at last betrayed to the enemy. Edward sent him in chains to Shrewsbury; and bringing him to a formal trial before

all the peers of England, he ordered this sovereign prince to be hanged as a traitor, for defending the liberties of his native country. The Welsh nobility submitted to the conqueror; and the laws of England were established throughout the principality.

The king, sensible that nothing cherished military glory and valour so much as traditional poetry, collected all the Welsh bards, and barbarously ordered them ^{A. D.} 1284 to be put to death. It is said that Edward promised to give the Welsh a prince, a Welshman by birth; and that he invested in the principality his son Edward, then an infant, who had been born at Caernarvon. Thus Wales was fully annexed to the crown; and henceforth gives a title to the eldest son of the kings of England.

Edward had contracted his son to Margaret, the heir to the Scottish throne, and by this means hoped to unite the whole island into one monarchy; but this pro- ^{A. D.} 1291 ject failed of success by the sudden death of that princess; and the vacant throne was claimed both by John Baliol and Robert Bruce. Each of the two claimants possessed numerous adherents; and in order to prevent a civil war, it was agreed on to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the king of England. The temptation was too strong for the virtue of Edward. He prepared to lay hold of the present opportunity to revive, if not to create, his claim of a feudal superiority over Scotland. Accompanied by a great army, he advanced to the frontiers, and invited the Scottish parliament and the competitors to attend him in the castle of Norham, on the southern bank of the Tweed. He informed them that he was come thither to determine the right of the two competitors to their crown; that he was resolved to do strict justice to each party; and that he was entitled to this authority, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in quality of liege lord of the kingdom.

The Scottish barons were moved with indignation at the injustice of this unexpected claim: but they found themselves betrayed into a situation, in which it was impossible for them to make any defence for the independence of their country; and the king interpreting their silence into consent, addressed himself to the competitors, and previously to his pronouncing sentence, required their acknowledgment of his superiority. At length, after long

deliberations, Edward pronounced in favour of Baliol, to whom, upon renewing his oath of fealty to England, all the Scottish fortresses were restored. However, he proceeded in such a manner, as made it evident that he aimed at the absolute dominion of the kingdom. He encouraged appeals to England; and obliged king John to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private person. Baliol, though a prince of gentle disposition, was greatly provoked at this usage; he determined at all hazards to vindicate his liberties; and the war which soon after broke out between France and England afforded him a favourable opportunity.

A petty quarrel between a Norman and English sailor had been speedily inflamed into a national enmity. A. D. 1293 Barbarities were committed on the crews of Norman and English vessels; the sea became a scene of piracy between the two nations; and so numerous were the fleets engaged, that fifteen thousand Frenchmen are reported to have perished in one action. Philip sent an envoy to demand reparation; but not obtaining sufficient satisfaction, he summoned Edward, as his vassal, to appear in his court at Paris, and answer for these offences; and on his refusal, Guienne, by a formal decree, was declared forfeited, and annexed to the crown of France. Some impression was made on Guienne by an English army, which Edward raised by emptying the jails, but which was soon after defeated with great slaughter; and England was at the same time menaced with an invasion from France and from Scotland, whose kings had entered into a secret alliance.

The expenses attending these wars obliged Edward to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, and to introduce into the public councils the lower A. D. 1295 orders of the state. He issued writs to the sheriffs, enjoining them to send to parliament, along with two knights of the shire, two deputies from each borough;*

* The charges of the deputies were borne by the borough which sent them. They set apart from the barons and knights, who disdained to mix with such mean personages. After they had given their consent to the taxes required of them, they separated, even though the parliament continued to sit. However, the union of the representatives from the boroughs gave gradually more weight to the whole order; and it became customary for them, in return for

“as it is a most equitable rule,” says he, “that what concerns all should be approved of by all, and common dangers be repelled by united efforts.” This noble principle seems to indicate a liberal mind in the king, and to have laid the foundation of a free and equitable government; and from this period may be dated the regular establishment of the different branches composing the house of commons, the precedent of Leicester in the former reign being rather an act of violence than of authority.

Edward employed the supplies granted him by his people, in making preparations against the hostilities of his northern neighbours. He summoned John to appear before him as his vassal; and on his refusal, he marched with thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse to chastise his contumacy. Some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobles endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with Edward by an early submission; and the king crossed the Tweed without opposition, took Berwick by assault, and detached the earl of Warrenne with twelve thousand men to besiege Dunbar. The Scots, who advanced against Warrenne with their main army, were defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men. Dunbar surrendered; and, after a feeble resistance, the castle of Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates to the English. All the southern parts were immediately subdu-

A. D.
1296

the supplies which they granted, to prefer petitions to the crown for the redress of any particular grievance; and the king, by adding to the petitions the sanction of his authority, bestowed validity upon them. But it was soon discovered, that no laws could be fixed for one order of men, without affecting the whole; and the house of peers, therefore, with reason, expected that their assent should be expressly granted to all public ordinances.

With the most frequent partition of property, the knights and lesser barons sunk into a rank still more inferior to the great nobility; while the growth of commerce augmented the private wealth and consideration of the burgesses; and as they resembled the knights of shires in representing particular bodies of men, it no longer appeared unsuitable to unite them together in the same house, and to confound their rights and privileges. This event took place in the 16th of Edward III., or forty-eight years from the time when burgesses were first summoned to parliament. Thus the third estate, that of the commons, reached at length its present form; it gradually increased in importance; and in its progress made arts and commerce, the necessary attendants of liberty and equal rights, flourish in the kingdom.

ed. The spirit of the nation was broken by misfortunes ; and the feeble and timid Baliol hastened to make his submission, and solemnly resigned his crown into the hands of Edward. That sovereign marched to Aberdeen and Elgin without opposition , and having reduced the whole kingdom to an apparent state of tranquility, he returned to the south. Earl Warrenne was left governor of Scotland. Baliol was carried to London, and lay two years in the tower, and then submitted to a voluntary banishment to France, where he died in a private station.

Edward was not equally successful in his attempt to recover Guienne ; and, at length, he and Philip agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of Pope Boniface. This was the last of the sovereign pontiffs that exercised any authority over the temporal jurisdiction of princes ; and these exorbitant pretensions, which he had been tempted to assume from the successful example of his predecessors, but of which the season was now passed, involved him in so many calamities, and were attended with so unfortunate a catastrophe, that they have been secretly abandoned, though never openly relinquished, by his successors in the apostolic chair. Edward and Philip, equally jealous of papal claims, took care to insert in their reference, that Boniface was made judge of their differences by their consent, as a private person, not by any right of his pontificate ; and the pope, without seeming to be offended at this mortifying clause, proceeded to give a sentence between them, in which they both acquiesced. He brought them to agree that their union should be cemented by a double marriage ; that of Edward himself, who now was a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister ; and that of the prince of Wales with Isabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was likewise willing to restore Guienne to the English ; and Edward agreed to abandon his ally the earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip should treat in like manner his ally, the king of Scots. The prospect of conquering these two countries, whose situation made them so commodious an acquisition to the respective kingdoms, prevailed over all other considerations ; and though they were both finally disappointed in their hopes, their conduct was very reconcilable to the principles of an interested policy.

Warrenne retiring into England, on account of his bad

state of health, left the administration of Scotland entirely in the hands of Ormsby the justiciary, and Cressingham the treasurer. The former distinguished himself by his severity; the latter had no other object than the amassing of money by rapine and injustice. They treated the Scots as a conquered people; and, in consequence, the bravest and most generous spirits of the nation were exasperated to the highest degree against the English government.

Among these was William Wallace, a man descended from an ancient family, whose courage prompted him to undertake, and enabled him finally to accomplish, the deliverance of his native country. Finding himself obnoxious to the administration, he had fled into the woods, and offered himself as a leader to all those whom their crimes, or bad fortune, or avowed hatred to the English, had reduced to the same necessity. He was endowed with gigantic force, with heroic courage, and patience to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons. Beginning with small attempts, he gradually proceeded to more momentous enterprises; and he discovered equal prudence in securing his followers, and valour in annoying the enemy. All who thirsted after military fame, or felt the flame of patriotism, were desirous to partake his renown; and he seemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy into which it had fallen by its tame submission to the English.

Wallace resolved to strike a decisive blow against the English government, and concerted the plan of attacking Ormsby at Scone; but the justiciary, apprised of his intentions, fled hastily into England, and all the other officers of Edward followed his example. Their terror added courage to the Scots, who took up arms in every quarter. Warrenne collected an army of forty thousand men in the north of England, advanced to Stirling, and found Wallace encamped on the opposite banks of the Forth. He prepared to attack the Scots in that position, and ordered his army to cross a bridge which lay over the Forth. Wallace, allowing a number of the English to pass, attacked them before they could be formed, and pushed them into the river, or destroyed them with the sword. Warrenne was obliged to retire into England; and Wallace, after receiving from his followers the title of guardian, or regent, broke into the northern counties of England, and extended his ravages to the bishopric of Durham.

Edward, who received in Flanders intelligence of these events, hastened his return; and having collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland, he marched with an army of nearly a hundred thousand men to the northern frontiers. The Scots were distracted by faction and animosity. The elevation of Wallace was the object of envy to the nobility; and that hero, sensible of their jealousy, and dreading the ruin of his country from these intestine discords, voluntarily resigned his authority, and retained only the command over that body of followers, who, being accustomed to victory under his standard, refused to follow into the field any other leader. The chief power devolved on the steward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenach, men of eminent birth, who fixed their station at Falkirk, where they purposed to abide the assault of the English.

The English archers, who began about this time to surpass those of other nations, first chased the Scottish bowmen off the field, afterwards threw the pikemen into disorder, and thus rendered the assault of the English lancers and cavalry more easy and successful. The whole Scottish army was broken and driven off the field with prodigious slaughter. In this general rout Wallace kept his troops entire; and retiring behind the Carron, he marched leisurely along the banks of that river. Young Robert Bruce, the grandson and heir of him who had been competitor for the throne, who, in the service of England, had already given many proofs of his aspiring genius, appeared on the opposite bank; and distinguishing the Scottish chief, he called to him, and desired a short conference. He represented to Wallace the fruitless and ruinous enterprise in which he was engaged, and the unequal contest between a weak state, deprived of its head and agitated by intestine discord, and a mighty nation conducted by the ablest and most martial monarch of the age. If the love of his country was a motive for perseverance, his obstinacy tended only to prolong her misery; if he carried his views to private grandeur and ambition, he ought to reflect, that so many haughty nobles, proud of the pre-eminence of their families, would never submit to personal merit. To these exhortations Wallace replied, that, if he had hitherto acted alone as the champion of his country, it was because no leader had yet appeared to place him-

self in that honourable station ; that the blame lay entirely with the nobility, and chiefly with Bruce himself, who uniting personal merit to dignity of family, had deserted the post which both nature and fortune invited him to assume ; that the Scots, possessed of such a leader, might hope successfully to oppose all the powers and abilities of Edward ; and that, as for himself, he was desirous that his own life, as well as the existence of the nation, might terminate when they could not otherwise be preserved, than by receiving the chains of a haughty victor. The gallantry of these sentiments was felt by the generous mind of Bruce ; and he secretly determined to seize the first opportunity of embracing the cause of his oppressed country.

The battle of Falkirk had not completed the subjection of the Scots. They chose for their regent John Cummin, who surprised the English army, and routed them after an obstinate conflict ; and it became necessary for Edward to begin anew the conquest of the kingdom. A. D. 1299

The king prepared himself for the enterprise with his usual vigour and abilities. He marched victorious from one extremity of Scotland to the other, and compelled even Cummin himself to submit to his authority. To render his acquisition durable, he abrogated all the laws and customs of Scotland, endeavoured to substitute those of England in their place, entirely razed or destroyed all the monuments of antiquity, and hastened wholly to abolish the Scottish name.

Wallace himself was at length betrayed into Edward's hands, by his friend Sir John Monteith ; and the king, whose natural bravery and magnanimity should have induced him to respect similar qualities in an enemy, resolved to overawe the Scots by an example of severity. He ordered the hero to be carried in chains to London ; to be tried as a rebel and a traitor, though he had never sworn fealty to England ; and to be executed on Tower-hill. Such was the unworthy fate of Wallace, who, through the course of several years, with signal conduct, intrepidity, and perseverance, defended, against a public and oppressive enemy, the liberties of his native country. A. D. 1305

The barbarous policy of Edward failed of the object to

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1306 which it was directed. The Scots were enraged at the injustice and cruelty exercised on their gallant chief; and it was not long ere a more fortunate leader presented himself to conduct them to victory and to vengeance. Robert Bruce, whose conference with Wallace on the banks of the Carron has been already noticed, determined to revive the pretensions of his family, and to aspire to the vacant throne. Edward, being apprized of his intentions, ordered all his motions to be strictly watched. An intimate friend of Bruce, not daring, amidst so many jealous eyes, to hold any conversation with him, sent him by his servant a pair of gilt spurs, and a purse of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; and left it to his sagacity to discover the meaning. Bruce immediately contrived to escape, and in a few days arrived at Dumfries, the chief seat of his family interest, where he found a great number of the Scottish nobility assembled, and among the rest John Cummin, with whom he had formerly lived in strict intimacy.

The noblemen were astonished at the appearance of Bruce among them; and still more when he told them, that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country. These generous sentiments, assisted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, impressed the minds of his audience; and they resolved to use their utmost efforts in delivering their country from bondage. Cummin alone, who had secretly taken his measures with the king, opposed this general determination; and Bruce, already apprized of his treachery, followed Cummin on the dissolution of the assembly, and attacking him in the cloisters of the Gray Friars, ran him through the body.

The murder of Cummin sealed the conspiracy of the Scottish nobles. The genius of the nation roused itself; and Bruce was solemnly crowned at Scone by the bishop of St. Andrews. The English were again expelled the kingdom; and Edward found, that the Scots, twice conquered in his reign, must yet be afresh subdued. To effect this, he assembled a great army, and was preparing to enter the frontiers, when he unexpectedly sickened and died near Carlisle, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. With his

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1307

last breath he enjoined his son and his successor to prosecute the enterprise, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland.

Edward II. was in the twenty-third year of his age when he ascended the throne. He was of an agreeable figure, and of a mild and gentle disposition; but the first act of his reign blasted the hopes which the English had entertained of him. Equally incapable of, and averse to business, he entered Scotland only to retreat; he disbanded his army, without attacking Bruce; and by this conduct, he convinced the barons that the authority of the crown was no longer to be dreaded, and that they were at liberty to practise every insolence with impunity.

Piers Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, by his insinuating address, his elegance of form, and his lively wit, had gained an entire ascendant over the young Edward; and the late king, apprehensive of the consequences, had banished him the kingdom, and made his son promise never to recall him. No sooner, however, did the young Edward ascend the throne, than he recalled Gaveston, gave him the whole earldom of Cornwall, married him to his own niece, and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royal dignity, but as it enabled him to exalt this object of his fond affections. The haughty barons were offended at the superiority of a minion, whose birth they despised, and who eclipsed them in pomp and splendour. In a journey to France, to espouse the princess Isabella, Edward left Gaveston guardian of the realm; but on his return with the young queen, Isabella, who was of an imperious and intriguing disposition, finding her husband's capacity required to be governed, thought herself best entitled to perform the office, and was well pleased to see a combination of the nobility formed against the favourite.

Thomas, earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, was at the head of the party among the barons.

That nobleman, entering the parliament with his adherents in arms, required the banishment of Gaveston; and Edward was obliged to submit; but instead of sending him to his own country, he appointed him lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The king, unhappy in the absence of his minion, employed every expedient to soften the opposition of the barons to his return; and deeming matters sufficiently pre-

pared for his purpose, he ventured to recall Gaveston, and went to Chester to receive him on his first landing from Ireland. However, in defiance of the laws and the king's prohibition, the barons, with a numerous retinue of armed followers, compelled Edward to devolve on a chosen junto the whole authority, both of the crown and the parliament; and among other regulations sanctioned by this committee, Gaveston was forever banished the king's dominions.

As soon, however, as Edward, by removing to York, had freed himself from the barons' power, he recalled Gaveston from Flanders; and the barons, highly provoked at this measure, flew to arms, with the earl of Lancaster at their head. Edward left his favourite in the castle of Scarborough, which was obliged to surrender to the earl of Pembroke. From thence Gaveston was conducted to the castle of Dedington, near Banbury, where, being left with a small guard, he was surprised by the earl of Warwick; and without any regard to the laws, the head of the unhappy favourite was struck off by the hands of the executioner. When the king was informed of Ga-

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1313 veston's murder, he threatened vengeance on all those who had been active in that bloody scene; but being less constant in his enmities than in his friendships, he listened to terms of accommodation, and granted the barons a pardon of all offences.

Immediately after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Robert Bruce left his fastnesses; and, in a short time, nearly the whole kingdom acknowledged his authority. The castle of Stirling, the only fortress in Scotland which remained in the hands of the English, was closely pressed; and to relieve this place, Edward summoned his forces from all quarters, and marched with an army of a hundred thousand men. At Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, Bruce, with thirty thousand hardy warriors, insured to all the varieties of fortune, and inflamed with the love of independence, awaited the charge of the enemy. A hill covered his right flank, and a morass his left; and along the banks of a rivulet in his front he dug deep pits; planted them with stakes, and covered the whole with turf. The English, confident in their superior numbers, rushed to the attack without precaution. Their cavalry, entangled in the pits, were thrown into disorder; and the Scottish horse, allowing them no time to rally, attacked

them, and drove them off the field with considerable loss. While the English forces were alarmed at this unfortunate event, an army appeared on the heights towards the left, marching to surround them. This was composed of wago-ners and sumpter-boys, whom Robert had supplied with military standards. The stratagem took effect; a panic seized the English, who threw down their arms, and fled, and were pursued to the gates of Berwick. Besides an inestimable booty, the Scots took many persons of quality prisoners, and above four hundred gentlemen, whose ransom was a new accession of strength to the victors.

This great and decisive battle secured the independence of Scotland, and fixed the throne of Bruce; whilst it shook that of Edward, whose defeat encouraged ^{A. D.} the nobility to insist on the renewal of their ordi- 1315 nances. After the death of Gaveston, the king's chief favourite was Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, a young man of high rank, and noble family. He possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address, but was not endowed either with moderation or prudence. His father, who was of the same name, was a nobleman venerable from his years, and qualified, by his talents and experience, to have supplied the defects both of the king and his minion; but Edward's attachment rendered the name of Spenser odious; and the turbulent Lancaster, and most of the great barons, formed plans for his destruction.

The claim of Spenser to an estate, which had been settled on the illustrious family of Mowbray, was the signal for civil war. The earls of Lancaster and Hereford flew to arms; and by menaces and violence they extorted from the king an act of attainder against the Spensers, and of indemnity for themselves. This being effected, they disbanded their army, and separated, in security, as they imagined, to their respective castles. Edward, however, having assembled an army, dropped the mask, and recalled the Spensers, whose sentence he declared to be illegal and unjust. Lancaster, who had hastily collected thirty thousand men, fled with his forces towards the north; but being intercepted at Boroughbridge, after a slight action, he was taken prisoner, and brought to the king. Edward, though gentle by nature, remembered on this occasion the fate of Gaveston; and Lancaster, mounted upon a lean horse, and exposed to the derision of the people, was con-

ducted to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his own castles, where he suffered decapitation.

Edward, after another fruitless attempt on Scotland, concluded a truce for thirteen years with Bruce, whose title to the crown was thus virtually, though not tacitly, acknowledged. He was, however, still embarrassed by the demands of his brother-in-law, Charles the Fair, who required him to appear and do homage for the fees which he held in France. The queen had been permitted to go to Paris, and endeavour to adjust in an amicable manner the differences with her brother. On her arrival in France, Isabella was surrounded by a number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction. Among these was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welsh marches, who, by the graces of his person and address, quickly advanced in the affections of the queen, and at last triumphed over her honour. The king, informed of these circumstances, required her speedily to return with the young prince Edward, who was then with his mother in Paris; but instead of obeying his orders, she publicly declared that she would never set foot in England till Spenser was removed from his presence and councils.

This declaration procured Isabella great popularity in England, and threw a veil over her treasonable enterprises; and having affianced young Edward with Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault, she enlisted three thousand men, sailed from the harbour of Dort, and landed, without opposition, on the coast of Norfolk. She was immediately joined by several of the most powerful barons; and to render her cause popular, she renewed her declaration, that her sole purpose was to free the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Spensers.

The king, after trying in vain to rouse the citizens of London to a sense of duty, departed for the west, and was hotly pursued to Bristol by his own brother, the earl of Kent, and the foreign forces under John de Hainault. Disappointed in the loyalty of those parts, he passed over into Wales, leaving the elder Spenser governor of the castle of Bristol; but the garrison mutinied against him, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. This venerable noble, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year, was without trial condemned to death by the rebellious

barons. He was hanged on a gibbet ; his body was cut in pieces and thrown to the dogs ; and his head was sent to Winchester, where it was set upon a pole, and exposed to the insults of the populace. Edward himself attempted to escape to Ireland ; but being driven back by contrary winds, he was discovered, and committed to the custody of the earl of Leicester, in the castle of Kenilworth. The young Spenser, his favourite, who also fell into the hands of his enemies, was executed like his father, without any appearance of a legal trial.

The diabolical Isabella, in order to avail herself of the prevailing delusion, summoned in the king's name a parliament at Westminster. A charge was drawn ^{A. D.} up against Edward, in which, though framed by his ¹³²⁷ inveterate enemies, nothing but his want of capacity, or his misfortunes, could be objected against him. The deposition of the king, however, was voted by parliament ; and the prince his son was placed on the throne.

But it was impossible that the character and conduct of Isabella could long be mistaken. The gross violation of every duty and every tie soon estranged from her the minds of men ; the proofs which daily broke out of her criminal commerce with Mortimer, increased the general abhorrence against her ; and her hypocrisy in publicly bewailing the king's unhappy fate, was not able to deceive even the most stupid and most prejudiced of her adherents. In proportion as the queen became the object of public hatred, the dethroned monarch, who had been the victim of her crimes and her ambition, was regarded with pity and veneration ; and men became sensible, that all his misconduct, which faction had so much exaggerated, had been owing to the natural imbecility, not to any voluntary depravity, of his character. The earl of Leicester, now earl of Lancaster, to whose custody he had been committed, was soon touched with those generous sentiments ; and besides treating his prisoner with gentleness and humanity, he was suspected to have entertained still more honourable intentions in his favour. The king, therefore, was taken from his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, and Mautravers and Gournay, who were entrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the custody of Berkeley, he was still treated with the gentleness due to his rank and his misfor-

tunes ; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every species of indignity was practised against him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the prince's spirit, and to employ his sorrows and afflictions, instead of more violent and more dangerous expedients, for the instruments of his murder. But as this method of destruction appeared too slow to the impatient Mortimer, he secretly sent orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, instantly to despatch him. Taking advantage of

A. D. Berkeley's sickness, in whose custody he then was,
1327 and who was thereby incapacitated from attending

his charge, they came to Berkeley castle, and putting themselves in possession of the king's person, they threw him on a bed, and holding him down with a table, thrust into his fundament a red hot iron, which they inserted through a horn, that no external marks of violence might be seen on his person. The dreadful deed, however, was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonizing king filled the castle, while his bowels were consuming.

Thus died Edward II., than whom it is not easy to imagine a more innocent and inoffensive man, nor a prince less capable of governing a fierce and turbulent people. Obligated to devolve on others the weight of which he had neither ability nor inclination to bear, he wanted penetration to choose ministers and favourites qualified for the trust.

CHAP. IV.

The reign of Edward III.

THE party which had deposed the unfortunate monarch, deemed it requisite for their security, to obtain an indemnity from parliament for all their proceedings. All the attainders, also, which had passed against the earl of Lancaster and his adherents, were easily reversed during the triumph of their party. A council of regency was likewise appointed by parliament, consisting of five prelates and seven lay lords ; and the earl of Lancaster was nominated guardian of the young king, Edward III.

Mortimer, though not included in the regency, rendered that council entirely useless, by usurping to himself the whole sovereign authority. He never consulted either the princes of the blood or the nobility on any public

Edward the Second surrendering his Crown.

Murder of Edward the Second.

measure ; and he affected a state and dignity equal or superior to those of royalty. Edward, who had attained his eighteenth year, repined at the fetters in which he was held by this insolent minister ; but so much was he surrounded by the emissaries of Mortimer, that he was obliged to conduct the project for subverting him with the greatest secrecy and precaution. The queen-dowager and Mortimer lodged in the castle of Nottingham ; the king also was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants ; and as the castle was strictly guarded, it became necessary to communicate the design to Sir William Eland, the governor, who zealously took part in it. By his direction, the king's associates were admitted through a subterraneous passage ; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make resistance, was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's. A parliament was immediately summoned for his condemnation ; and such was the notoriety of his infamous conduct, that without trial, or examining a witness, he was sentenced to be hung on a gibbet at the Elms, in the neighbourhood of London. The queen was confined to her own house at Risings ; and though the king, during the remainder of her life, paid her a visit once or twice a year, she never regained any credit or influence.

Edward, having now assumed the reins of government, applied himself to redress all those grievances
 A. D. 1332 which had proceeded from the late abuse of authority. The severity with which he caused justice to be administered, soon restored the kingdom to internal tranquility ; and in proportion as the government acquired stability at home, it became formidable to its neighbours. Edward made a successful irruption into Scotland, for the purpose of reinstating Edward Baliol in possession of the crown of that kingdom ; and in an engagement at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick, the Scots were defeated, with the loss of nearly thirty thousand men.

It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never descend to a female, and
 A. D. 1337 this maxim was supposed to be confirmed by a clause in the Salic code ; but the king of England, at an early age, embraced a notion that he was entitled, in right of his mother, to the succession of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that

of Philip de Valois, the cousin-german, who had been unanimously placed on the throne of France. His own claim, however, was so unreasonable, and so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that it is probable Edward would never have prosecuted it, had not some jealousies and misunderstanding arisen between the two monarchs.

Determined to engage in this chimerical attempt, the king began with opening his intentions to the count of Hainault, his father-in-law ; and having engaged him in his interests, he employed the good offices and counsels of that prince in drawing into his alliance the other sovereigns of that neighbourhood. The duke of Brabant was induced, by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promise his concurrence ; the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Fauquemont and Baquen, were engaged by like motives to embrace the English alliance. These sovereign princes could supply either from their own states, or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops ; and nothing was wanting to make the force on that quarter very formidable, but the accession of Flanders, which Edward procured by means rather extraordinary and unusual.

After consulting his parliament, and obtaining its consent, Edward, accompanied by a body of English forces, and by several of his nobility, passed over to Flanders. The Flemings, as vassals of France, pretending some scruples with regard to the invasion of their liege lord, Edward assumed the title of king of France ; but he did not venture on this step without hesitation and reluctance, and a presage of the calamities which he was about to inflict and entail on both countries.

The first attempts of the king were unsuccessful ; but he was a prince of too much spirit to be discouraged by the difficulties of an undertaking. By confirming the ancient charters and the privileges of boroughs, he obtained from the parliament a considerable supply ; and with a fleet of two hundred and forty sail, he again embarked for the continent. Off Sluise he was encountered by a French fleet, consisting of four hundred vessels. The inferiority of the English in number, was compensated by their nautical skill, and the presence of their monarch. The en-

gement was fierce and bloody; and the Flemings, near whose coast the action took place, issued from their harbours, and reinforced the English. Two hundred and thirty French ships were taken; and thirty thousand of their men perished. Numbers now flocked to the standard of Edward; and with an army of above a hundred thousand men, he invested Tournay. That place had been provided with a garrison of fourteen thousand men; but after the siege had continued ten weeks, the city was reduced to distress; and Philip advanced towards the English camp, at the head of a mighty host, with the intention of avoiding a decisive action, but of throwing succours into the place. Both armies continued in sight of each other without engaging; and, whilst in this situation, Jane, countess dowager of Hainault, interposed her good offices in order to prevent the effusion of blood. This princess was mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip; and her pious efforts prevailed on them both, though they could not lay aside, at least to suspend their animosities, by subscribing a truce for twelve months.

Edward returned to England, deeply chagrined at the unfortunate issue of his military operations; and he vented his ill humour on the officers of the revenue and collectors of taxes. In order to obtain a new supply from the parliament, the king had been obliged to subscribe to nearly the same restrictions as had been imposed on Henry III. and Edward II. No sooner, however was he possessed of the necessary supply, than he revoked and annulled his concessions; and he afterwards obtained from his parliament a legal repeal of the obnoxious statute, which imposed those restrictions. Edward had experienced so many mortifications in his war with France, that he would probably have dropped his claim, had not a revolution in Brittany opened to him more promising views.

John III., duke of Brittany, having no issue, was solicitous to prevent those disorders to which, on the event of his demise, a disputed succession might expose his subjects. For that purpose, he bestowed his niece, whom he deemed his heir, in marriage on Charles of Blois, nephew of the king of France; and all his vassals, and among the rest the count of Montfort, his brother by a second marriage, swore fealty to Charles and to his consort as to their future sovereigns. But on the death of the aged duke, the

count of Montfort made a voyage to England; and offering to do homage to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Brittany, he proposed a strict alliance for the support of their mutual pretensions. Edward immediately saw the advantages attending this treaty; and it required a very short negotiation to conclude an alliance between two men, who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female succession were directly opposite, were intimately connected by their immediate interests.

Soon after, however, Montfort fell into the hands of his enemies, was conducted as a prisoner to Paris, and
A. D. 1342 shut up in the Louvre. This event seemed to put an end to his pretensions; but his consort assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, deplored to them the calamity of their sovereign, and entreated them to resist a usurper, who had been imposed on them by the arms of France. Inspired by the noble conduct of the princess, the states of Brittany vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family. The countess shut herself up in Hennebonne, which was invested by Charles of Blois, who, after several reiterated attacks, was compelled to abandon the siege on the arrival of succours from England.

After the death of Robert of Artois, whom the king of England had despatched to Brittany with a considerable reinforcement, Edward undertook in person the defence of the countess of Montfort. The king landed at Morbrian, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thousand men, and commenced the three important sieges of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz; but by undertaking too much, he failed of success in all his enterprises. The duke of Normandy, eldest son of Philip king of France, appeared in Brittany at the head of an army of thirty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry. Edward was obliged to concentrate his forces, and to entrench himself before Vannes, where the duke of Normandy soon after arrived, and in a manner invested the besiegers. The English drew all their subsistence from England, exposed to the hazards of the sea, and sometimes to those which arose from the fleet of the enemy; and, in this dangerous situation, Edward willingly accepted the mediation of the pope's legates, and concluded a truce for three years. By this truce all prisoners were to be released, the places in

Brittany to remain with their present possessors, and Vannes to be sequestered into the hands of the legates, to be afterwards disposed of according to their pleasure.

The truce, however, was of a very short duration; and each monarch endeavoured to inculcate the other for its infraction. The parliament, whom Edward affected to consult on all occasions, advised the king not to be amused by a fraudulent truce, and granted supplies for the renewal of the war. The earl of Derby, with an English army, was sent into Guienne; but Edward, informed of the great danger to which that province was exposed from the duke of Normandy, prepared a force for its relief. He embarked at Southampton, with his son the prince of Wales, and the flower of his nobility; but the winds proving contrary, he was prevailed on to change the destination of his enterprise; and ordering his fleet to sail to Normandy, he safely disembarked his forces at La Hogue. Edward spread his army over the whole country, defeated a body of troops that had been collected for the defence of Caën, and took and plundered that rich city. He moved next towards Rouen; but he found the bridge over the Seine broken down, and the king of France encamped on the opposite bank with an army of one hundred thousand men.

Edward perceived that the French intended to inclose him in their country; and therefore, by a secret and rapid movement, he gained Poissy, passed the Seine, and advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. But as he approached the Somme, he found himself in the same difficulty as before; all the bridges on that river were either broken down or strongly guarded; and an army was stationed on the opposite banks. The promise of a reward induced a peasant to betray the interests of his country, and to inform Edward of a ford below Abbeville. The king threw himself into the river at the head of his troops, drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them to a distance on the plain. As the rear guard of the English passed, the French army under Philip arrived at the ford; and Edward, sensible that an engagement was unavoidable, adopted a prudent resolution. He chose his ground with advantage, near the village of Crecy,* drew up his

* The battle of Crecy, which was fought August 26, began at three o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted till dark.

army on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines : the first was commanded by the prince of Wales, and under him, by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, and other noblemen ; the second, by the earls of Arundel and Northampton ; and the third, by the king himself. His flanks were secured by trenches ; and according to some historians, several pieces of artillery were placed in his front.

The French army, imperfectly formed, and already fatigued and disordered, arrived in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi ; the second was led by the count of Alençon, brother to the king ; and at the head of the third was Philip himself, accompanied by the kings of Bohemia, of the Romans, and of Majorca, with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. The battle became, for some time, hot and dangerous ; and the earl of Warwick, apprehensive of the event from the superior numbers of the French, despatched a messenger to the king, and entreated him to send succours to the relief of the prince of Wales. Edward had chosen his station on the top of the hill ; and he surveyed in tranquility the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, his first question was, whether the prince was slain or wounded ? On receiving an answer in the negative, " return," said he, " to my son, and tell him that I reserve the honour of the day to him : I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honour of knighthood which I so lately conferred upon him : he will be able, without my assistance, to repel the enemy." This speech being reported to the prince and his attendants, inspired them with fresh courage : they made an attack with redoubled vigour on the French, in which the count of Alençon was slain. In vain the king of France advanced with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, by the enemy, till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, " my brave son ! persevere in your honourable cause : you are my son ; for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day : you have shown yourself worthy of empire."

In this battle there fell, by a moderate computation, twelve hundred French knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, besides about thirty thousand of inferior rank : many of the principal nobility of France, the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, and Aumale, were left on the field of battle. The kings also of Bohemia and Majorca were slain. The former was blind from age ; but being resolved to hazard his person, and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two gentlemen of his train ; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. His crest was three ostrich feathers ; and his motto these German words, *Ich dien, I serve* : which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this great victory.

The great prudence of Edward appeared not only in obtaining this memorable victory, but in the measures which he pursued after it. Not elated by his present prosperity, so far as to expect the total conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces, he limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais ; and after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the slain, he marched with his victorious army, and presented himself before that place.

John Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, was governor of Calais, and being supplied with every thing necessary for defence, he encouraged the townsmen to perform to the utmost their duty to their king and country. Edward, therefore, sensible from the beginning that it was in vain to attempt the place by force, purposed only to reduce it by famine. This siege employed him nearly twelve months ; and during this interval, there passed in different places many other events, all of which redounded to the honour of the English arms. In vain Philip attempted to relieve Calais at the head of two hundred thousand men. That fortress was now reduced to the last extremity by famine and the fatigue of the inhabitants ; but Edward insisted that six of the most considerable citi-
zens should atone for the obstinacy of the rest, by
submitting their lives to his disposal, and by presenting, with ropes about their necks, the keys of the city. This

A. D.
1347

intelligence struck the inhabitants with new consternation. At length, Eustace de St. Pierre, whose name deserves to be recorded, declared himself willing to encounter death for the safety of his friends and companions: the generous flame was communicated to others; and the whole number was soon completed. They appeared before Edward in the guise of malefactors; but at the intercession of the queen Philippa, these excellent citizens were dismissed with presents.

To secure the possession of Calais, Edward ordered all the inhabitants to quit the town, and peopled it anew with English; a policy which probably secured that important fortress so long to his successors. Through the mediation of the pope's legates, he soon after concluded a truce with France; and on his return to England, he instituted the order of the Garter. The number received into this order consisted of twenty-five persons, besides the sovereign. A vulgar story prevails, but is not supported by authority, that, at a court-ball, the king's mistress, the countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter; and Edward taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, upon which he called out, *honi soit qui mally pense*, "evil to him that evil thinks;" and in memorial of this event, he instituted the order of the garter, with these words for its motto.

During the truce between France and England, Philip de Valois died, and was succeeded in the throne by
 A. D. 1350 his son John, who was distinguished by many virtues, but was destitute of that masterly prudence which the situation of the kingdom required. The chief source of the intestine calamities of France was Charles, king of Navarre, who received the epithet of "wicked," and whose conduct fully entitled him to that appellation, though he possessed talents of the very first order, if they had been honourably directed. This prince did not conceal his pretensions, in right of his mother, to the throne of France, and increased the number of his partisans throughout the kingdom. He even seduced, by his address, Charles, the eldest son of John, who was the first that bore the name of dauphin. But Charles was made sensible of the folly and danger of the connection; and in concert with his father, he invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to an entertainment at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John.

Some of the latter were immediately led to execution; and the king of Navarre was thrown into prison. Philip, the brother of the king of Navarre, flew to arms, and implored the protection of England; and as the truce was expired, Edward was at liberty to support the French malcontents. Whilst the king himself ravaged Picardy, the Scots, taking advantage of his absence, collected an army for an incursion against England. Edward, therefore, returned to defend that kingdom against the threatened invasion; and after burning and destroying the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh, he induced Baliol to resign the crown of Scotland into his hands, in consideration of an annual pension of two thousand pounds.

In the mean time, young Edward, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, had arrived in the
A. D. 1355 Garonne, with three hundred sail. Being joined by the vassals of Gascony, he reduced all the villages and several towns of Languedoc, to ashes. In a second campaign, at the head of twelve thousand men, he penetrated into the heart of France; when he was informed that the French king was approaching with an army of sixty thousand men.

Near Poitiers, prince Edward prepared for battle with equal courage and prudence; but the most splendid military qualities could not have extricated him, if the French had availed themselves of their superior numbers, and contented themselves with intercepting his provisions. So sensible, indeed, was the prince of his desperate condition, that he offered to purchase his retreat by ceding all his conquests, and by stipulating not to serve against France for seven years; but John required that he should surrender himself prisoner with one hundred of his attendants. The prince rejected this proposal with disdain, and declared that England should never be obliged to pay the price of his ransom.

All hopes of accommodation being at an end, the prince of Wales strengthened by new entrenchments the post which he had before so judiciously chosen; and contrived an ambush of three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, whom he put under the command of the Captal de Buche, and ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by

the earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himself.

John also arranged his forces in three divisions; the first was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the second by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; the third by the king himself, who had by his side Philip, his fourth and favourite son, then about fourteen years of age. There was no reaching the English army but through a narrow lane, covered on each side by hedges; and in order to open this passage, the mareschals Andrehen and Clermont were ordered to advance with a separate detachment of men at arms. While they marched along the lane, a body of English archers, who lined the hedges, plied them on each side with their arrows; and being very near them, yet placed in perfect safety, they coolly took their aim against the enemy, and slaughtered them with impunity. The French detachment, much discouraged by the unequal combat, and diminished in their number, arrived at the end of the lane, where they met, on the open ground, the prince of Wales himself, at the head of a chosen body, ready for their reception. They were discomfited and overthrown; one of the mareschals was slain, the other taken prisoner, and the remainder of the detachment, who were still in the lane, and exposed to the shot of the enemy, without being able to make resistance, recoiled upon their own army, and put every thing into disorder. In the critical moment, the Captal de Buche unexpectedly appeared, and attacked in flank the dauphin's line, which fell into some confusion. Landas, Bodenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of that young prince and his brothers had been committed, too anxious for their charge, or for their own safety, carried them off the field, and set the example of flight, which was followed by that whole division. The duke of Orleans, seized with a like panic, and imagining all was lost, thought no longer of fighting, but carried off his division by a retreat, which soon turned into a flight. The division under king John was more numerous than the whole English army; and the only resistance made that day was by his line of battle. The prince of Wales fell with impetuosity on some German cavalry placed in the front; a fierce battle ensued, but at length that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king himself exposed to the whole fury of the enemy. The

ranks were every moment thinned around him ; the nobles fell by his side one after another ; his son, scarcely fourteen years of age, received a wound whilst fighting valiantly in defence of his father. The king himself, spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, might easily have been slain ; but every English gentleman, ambitious of taking alive the royal prisoner, spared him in the action, exhorted him to surrender, and offered him quarter. Several who attempted to seize him suffered for their temerity. He still cried out, " Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales ? " and seemed unwilling to become prisoner to any person of inferior rank ; but being told that the prince was at a distance, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himself, together with his son, to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras.

The moderation displayed by Edward on this occasion, has forever stamped his character. At a repast prepared in his tent for his prisoner, he served at the royal captive's table as if he had been one of his retinue ; he stood behind the king's chair, and refused to be seated. All his father's pretensions to the crown of France were buried in oblivion ; and John received, when a captive, those honours which had been denied him when on a throne.

The prince of Wales concluded a truce of two years with France, that he might conduct the captive king with safety into England. He landed at Southwark, ^{A. D.} 1357 and was met by a great concourse of people of all ranks. The prisoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty, and by the richness of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his side in a meaner attire, on a black palfrey. In this situation he passed through the streets of London, and presented the king of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the same courtesy as if he had voluntarily paid him a visit.

The captivity of John produced in France the most horrible anarchy. Every man was thrown loose and independent of his fellows ; and licentiousness reigned without control. At length, in a conference between the English and French commissioners at Bretigni, a peace between the two nations was concluded on the following conditions. It was stipulated that king John should be restored to his liberty, and should pay as his ransom three

millions of crowns of gold;* that the king of England should forever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors, and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintogne, l'Angenois, Perigort, the Limousin, Quercy, Rovergne, l'Angoumois; and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France; that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, and John his connections with the Scots; and that forty hostages should be sent to England as a security for the execution of these conditions.

John no sooner regained his liberty, than he prepared to execute the terms with that fidelity and honour
 A. D. 1360 by which he was characterized. However, notwithstanding his endeavours, many difficulties occurred in fulfilling his purposes; and, therefore, in order to adjust some disputes, he formed a resolution of coming over to England. His council endeavoured to dissuade him from his design; but he replied, "that though good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breast of princes." John therefore came to London, and was lodged in the Savoy, where he fell sick and died.

John was succeeded in the throne by Charles the dauphin, who immediately directed his attention to the
 A. D. 1364 internal disorders which afflicted his kingdom. His chief obstacle proceeded from large bands of military adventurers, who had followed the standard of Edward, but who, on the conclusion of peace, refused to lay down their arms, persevered in a life of rapine, and associating themselves under the name of "companions," were a terror to the country. At length, they enlisted under the standard of Du Guesclin, who led them against Peter the Cruel, king of Castile. Peter fled from his dominions, sought refuge in Guienne, and craved the protection of the prince of Wales, whom his father had invested with the sovereignty of these conquered countries, by the title of the principality of Aquitane. That prince promised his assistance to the dethroned monarch, and recalled the

* About a million and a half sterling of our present money.

companions from the service of Henry of Transtamare, whom they had placed on the throne of Castile. Henry encountered the English prince at Najara, and was defeated with the loss of more than twenty thousand men. Peter was restored to the throne; but the ungrateful tyrant refused the stipulated pay to the English forces; and Edward returned to Guienne, with a diminished army, and his constitution fatally impaired by the climate. The barbarities exercised by Peter over his subjects, revived all the animosity of the Castilians; and the tyrant was again dethroned and put to death.

Prince Edward, by this rash expedition, had involved himself in so much debt, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose on Aquitaine a new tax on hearths. The people, disgusted by this measure, carried their complaints to Charles, their ancient sovereign, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government. By the treaty of Bertigne, the king of France had renounced all claims to the homage and fealty due for Guienne, and the other provinces ceded to the English; but, on this occasion, Charles affected to consider himself as superior lord of those provinces, and summoned Edward to appear at his court at Paris, and justify his conduct to his vassals. The prince briefly replied, that he would come to Paris, but that it should be at the head of sixty thousand men.

Charles fell upon Ponthieu, while his brothers, the dukes of Berri and Anjou, invaded the southern provinces. In one action, Chandos, the constable of Guienne, was slain; and in another, the Captal de Buche was taken prisoner. The state of the prince of Wales's health rendered him unable to mount on horseback, or exert his usual activity; and his increasing infirmities compelled him to resign the command of the army, and return to his native country. Edward, from the necessity of his affairs, was obliged to conclude a truce, after seeing almost all his ancient possessions in France ravished from him, except Bordeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests, except Calais.

A. D.
1370.

The decline of the king's power corresponded not with the preceding parts of it. Besides the loss of his foreign dominions, he felt the decay of his authority at home. During the vigour of age, he had been chiefly

occupied by war and ambition; but, in his latter years, he began to indulge himself in pleasure. After a lingering illness, the prince of Wales died, in the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving a character illustrious for every eminent virtue, and unstained by any blemish. His valour and military talents formed the smallest part of his merit; his generosity, humanity, affability, and moderation, gained him the affections of all men; and he was qualified to throw a lustre not only on the rude age in which he lived, but on the most shining period either of ancient or modern history. The king survived about a year this melancholy incident: he expired in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign; and the people were then sensible, though too late, of the irreparable loss which they had sustained.

The English are apt to consider with peculiar fondness the history of Edward the Third, and to esteem his reign, as it was one of the longest,* the most glorious also in the annals of their nation. The ascendancy which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and natural enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency, and sanctifies every measure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed by the prudence and vigour of his government, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquility than she had been blest with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness: his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, induced them to submit with pleasure to his dominion; and his valour and conduct rendered them successful in most of their enterprises. His foreign wars were neither founded in justice, nor directed to any salutary purpose; but the glory of a conqueror is so dazzling to the vulgar, the animosity of nations is so violent, that the fruitless desolation of so fine a part of Europe as France, is totally disregarded by us, and is never considered as a blemish in the character or conduct of this prince.

* It is the longest reign in English history, excepting that of George the Third.

Edward had a numerous posterity by his queen, Philippa of Hainault. His eldest son was the heroic Edward, usually denominated the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour. This prince espoused his cousin Joan, commonly called the "Fair Maid of Kent," daughter and heir of his uncle, the earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. By her, the prince of Wales had a son, Richard, who succeeded his grandfather.

The second son of king Edward was Lionel, duke of Clarence, who, dying while still young, left only one daughter, married to Edward Mortimer, earl of Marche. Of all the family, he resembled most his father and elder brother in his noble qualities.

Edward's third son was John of Gaunt, so called from the place of his birth: he was created duke of Lancaster; and from him sprang that branch which afterwards possessed the crown. The fourth son of this royal family was Edmund, created duke of York; and the fifth was Thomas, who received the title of duke of Gloucester. By his queen, Edward had also four daughters, Isabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret, all of whom arrived at years of maturity, and married.

During the reign of Edward, the parliament rose to greater consideration than it had experienced in any former time; and even the house of commons, which, during turbulent and factious periods, was naturally depressed by the greater power of the crown and barons, began to assume its rank in the constitution.

One of the most popular laws enacted by any prince, was the statute which passed in the twenty-fifth year of king Edward's reign, and which limited the cases of high treason to three principal heads: conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies.

CHAP. VII.

The reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V.

RICHARD II., the son of Edward the Black Prince, was only eleven years of age when his grandfather died; and as the late king had taken no care to A. D.
1377 establish a plan of government during the minority of his grandson, it behooved the parliament to supply the defect. On this occasion, the commons took the lead;

and at their requisition, the house of lords appointed a council of nine, to whom they gave authority for a year to direct the public business, and to inspect the education of the young prince. The government was conducted entirely in the king's name; no regency was expressly appointed; and the whole system was for some years kept together by the secret authority of the king's uncles, especially of the duke of Lancaster.

Edward had left his grandson involved in many dangerous wars. The pretensions of the duke of Lancaster to the crown of Castile made that kingdom persevere in hostilities against England. Scotland maintained such close connections with France, that war with one crown almost inevitably produced hostilities with the other. Charles the Fifth, indeed, was dead, and his son Charles the Sixth was a minor. The duke of Lancaster conducted an army into Brittany; and the duke of Gloucester, with only two thousand cavalry, and eight thousand infantry, penetrated into the heart of France; but, though the French were overawed by the former successes of the English, these enterprises proved in the issue unsuccessful.

The expenses of these armaments greatly exhausted the English treasury; and the parliament imposed a tax of three groats on every person above fifteen years of age. This impost produced a most serious revolt. A spirit of independence had been excited among the people, who had this distich frequently in their mouths:

“When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
“Where was then the gentleman?”

At this time the tax-gatherers demanded of a blacksmith of Essex, payment for his daughter, whom he asserted to be under the age assigned by the statute. One of the collectors offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and laid hold of the maid; which the father resenting, immediately knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The spectators applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was time to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their liberty. The people flew to arms; and the sedition spread from the county of Essex into that of Kent, of Hertford, Surry, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. The leaders, assuming the feigned names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and Tom Miller, committed the most outra-

geous violence on the gentry and nobility that had the misfortune to fall into their hands. The mutinous populace, amounting to one hundred thousand men, assembled on Blackheath, under their leaders, Tyler and Straw, broke into the city, and required of the king the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market-towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent of lands, instead of the services of villanage.

These requisitions were complied with ; and charters to that purpose were granted to them. A party of the insurgents, however, broke into the tower, murdered several persons of distinction, and continued their ravages in the city. The king, passing along Smithfield, very slenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler, at the head of the mob, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler having ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, when they were to murder all the company, except the king himself, whom they were to detain prisoner, fearlessly came into the midst of the royal retinue. He there behaved himself in such a manner, that Walworth, the mayor of London, unable to bear his insolence, drew his sword, and struck him to the ground, where he was instantly despatched by others of the king's attendants. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge ; and this whole company, with the king himself, had undoubtedly perished on the spot, had it not been for the extraordinary presence of mind which Richard displayed on the occasion. Ordering his company to stop, he advanced alone against the enraged multitude ; and accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, he asked them, " what is the meaning of this disorder, my good people ? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader ? I am your king : I will be your leader ? " The populace, overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him : he led them into the fields to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city, and peaceably dismissed them with the same charter which had been granted to their fellows. Soon after, the nobility and gentry, hearing of the king's danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers ; and Richard took the field at the head of an army forty thousand strong. The rebels were obliged to submit ; the charters of enfranchisement

and pardon were revoked by parliament; and several of the ringleaders were severely punished.

The subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the duke of Gloucester, a prince of genius and ambition, was extremely disagreeable to his disposition; and he soon attempted to shake off the yoke. Gloucester and his associates, however, framed a commission which was ratified by parliament, and by which the sovereign power was transferred to a council of fourteen persons for a twelve month. The king, who had now reached the twenty-first year of his age, was in reality dethroned; and though the term of the commission was limited, it was easy to perceive that it was the intention of the party to render it perpetual. However, in less than a twelve month, Richard, who was in his twenty-third year,

A. D. 1389 declared in council, that, as he had now attained the full age which entitled him to govern the kingdom by his own authority, he was resolved to exercise his right of sovereignty. By what means the king regained his authority is unknown; but he exercised it with moderation, and appeared reconciled to his uncles.

However, the personal conduct of Richard brought him into contempt, even whilst his government seemed, in a great measure, unexceptionable. Indolent, profuse, and addicted to low pleasures, he spent his time in feasting, and dissipated in idle show, or in bounties to worthless favourites, the revenue which should have been employed in enterprises directed to public honour and advantage. He forgot his rank, and admitted all men to his familiarity. The little regard which the people felt for his person, disposed them to murmur against his government, and to receive with readiness every complaint suggested to them by the discontented or ambitious nobles.

Gloucester soon perceived the advantages afforded him by the king's dissolute conduct; and he determined to cultivate the favour of the nation. He inveighed with in-

A. D. 1397 decent boldness against every measure pursued by the king, and particularly against the truce with France. His imprudence revived the resentment which his former violence had kindled; the precipitate temper of Richard admitted of no deliberation; and he ordered Gloucester to be unexpectedly arrested, and carried over to Calais, where alone, by reason of his nume-

rous partisans, he could safely be detained in custody. In a parliament which was immediately summoned, an accusation was presented against the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, who had appeared against their sovereign, in a hostile manner, at Haringay Park. The earl of Arundel was executed, and the earl of Warwick banished, though the crime for which they were condemned had been obliterated by time, and by repeated pardons. A warrant was issued to the earl mareschal, governor of Calais, to bring over the duke of Gloucester, in order to his trial; but the governor returned for answer, that the duke had died suddenly of an apoplexy; though it afterwards appeared, that he had been suffocated by the order of Richard.

After the destruction of the duke of Gloucester and the heads of that party, a misunderstanding arose among the noblemen who had joined in the prosecution. The duke of Hereford, son of the duke of Lancaster, accused the duke of Norfolk of having privately spoken many slanderous words of the king. Norfolk denied the charge, and offered to prove his own innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted; but when the two champions appeared in the field, the king interposed, and ordered both the combatants to quit the kingdom; assigning one country for the place of Norfolk's exile, which he declared perpetual, and another for that of Hereford, which he limited to ten years.

Hereford conducted himself with so much submission, that the king shortened the term of his exile four years; and he also granted him letters patent, by which he was empowered, in case any inheritance should in the interval accrue to him, to enter immediately into possession, and to postpone the doing of homage till his return. However, the king's jealousy was awakened by being informed that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the French king; and on the death of the duke of Lancaster, which happened soon after, Richard revoked his letters patent, and seized the estate of Lancaster. Henry, the new duke of Lancaster, had acquired by his conduct and abilities the esteem of the public; and he had joined to his other praises those of piety and valour. His misfortunes were lamented; the injustice which he had suffered was com-

plained of; and all men turned their eyes towards him, as the only person that could retrieve the lost honour of the nation, or redress the supposed abuses of the government.

While such were the dispositions of the people, Richard had the imprudence to embark for Ireland, in order to revenge the death of his cousin, Roger, earl of Marche, the presumptive heir of the crown, who had lately been slain in a skirmish with the natives; and he thereby left the kingdom of England open to the attempts of his provoked and ambitious enemy. Henry, embarking at Nantz with a retinue of sixty persons, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the young earl of Arundel, nephew to that prelate, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent barons in England. Every place was in commotion: the malcontents in all quarters flew to arms; and Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon amounted to the number of sixty thousand men. This army was farther increased by the accession of that assembled by the duke of York, who had been left guardian of the realm; and the duke of Lancaster, thus reinforced, was now entirely master of the kingdom.

The king, receiving information of this invasion and insurrection, hastened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford Haven with a body of twenty thousand men; but even this army, so much inferior to the enemy, gradually deserted him, till he found that he had not above six thousand men who followed his standard. Sensible of his danger, he privately fled to the isle of Anglesea, where the earl of Northumberland, by treachery and false oaths, made himself master of the king's person, and carried him to his enemy at Flint castle. Richard was conducted to London by the duke of Lancaster, who was there received by the acclamations of the mutinous populace. The duke first extorted a resignation from Richard; but as he knew the result of this deed would appear the result of force, he also procured him to be deposed in parliament for his pretended tyranny and misconduct. The throne being now declared vacant, the duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and having made the sign of the cross, pronounced these words, which we shall give in the original idiom, because of their singularity: "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy

Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster challenge this rewme of Ynglande, and the croun, with all the membres, and the appurtenances: als I that am descendit by right line of the blode coming fro the gude king Henry therde, and throge that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe of kyn, and of my frendes, to recover it; the which rewme was in poynt to be ondone by default of governance, and ondoying of the gude laws."

The earl of Northumberland made a motion in the house of peers with regard to the unhappy prince whom they had deposed. He asked them what advice they would give the king for the future treatment of him, since Henry was resolved to spare his life. They unanimously replied, that he should be imprisoned under a secure guard, in some secret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with his friends and partisans. It was easy to foresee, that he would not long remain alive in the hands of his barbarous and sanguinary enemies. Historians differ with regard to the manner in which he was murdered. It was long the prevailing opinion, that Sir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell upon him in the castle of Pomfret, where he was confined, and despatched him with their halberts. But it is more probable; that he was starved to death in prison, since his body was exposed in public, and no marks of violence were observed upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign; and left no posterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

Richard appears to have been incapacitated for government, less for want of natural parts, than of solid judgment and good education. He was violent in his temper; profuse in his expense; fond of idle show and magnificence; devoted to favourites; and addicted to pleasure. If he had possessed the talents of gaining, or of overawing his great barons, he might have escaped all the misfortunes of his reign; but when the nobles were tempted, by his want of prudence or of vigour, to resist his authority, he was naturally led to seek an opportunity of retaliation.

Henry the Fourth, in his very first parliament, had reason to see the danger attending that station which he had assumed, and the obstacles which he would meet with in governing an unruly aristocracy, always divided by faction, and at present inflamed with the

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resentments consequent on such recent convulsions. The peers, on their assembling, broke out into violent animosities against each other; forty gauntlets, the pledges of furious battle, were thrown on the floor of the house, by noblemen who gave mutual challenges; and *liar* and *traitor* resounded from all quarters. The king had so much authority with these doughty champions, as to prevent all the combats which they threatened; but he was not able to bring them to a proper composure, or to an amicable disposition towards each other.

The utmost prudence of Henry could not shield him from those numerous inquietudes which assailed him from every quarter. The connection of Richard with the royal family of France, made that court exert its activity to recover his authority, or revenge his death; but the confusions which the French experienced at home, obliged them to accommodate matters, and to conclude a truce between the two kingdoms.

The revolution in England proved also the occasion of an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, descended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard, in consequence of which Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthyn, who was connected with the new king, had seized his estate. Glendour recovered possession by the sword; the Welsh armed on his side; and a long and troublesome war was kindled. As Glendour committed devastations on the estate of the earl of Marche, Sir Edward Mortimer, uncle to that nobleman, led out the retainers of the family, and gave battle to the Welsh chieftain. Mortimer's troops were routed; and the earl himself, still in his minority, was made prisoner; and Henry, though he owed his crown to the Piercies, to whom the young nobleman was nearly related, refused to the earl of Northumberland permission to treat for his ransom with Glendour.

The critical situation of Henry had induced the Scots to make incursions into England; and Henry, desirous of taking revenge, conducted his followers to Edinburgh: but finding the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, and disbanded his army. In the following year, Archibald, earl of Douglas, at the head of twelve thousand men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption

into England, and committed devastations on the northern counties. On his return home, he was overtaken by the Piercies at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle ensued, in which the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner, as was Mordack, earl of Fife, son of the duke of Albany, with many others of the gentry and nobility.

The obligations which Henry had owed to Northumberland were of a kind the most likely to produce ingratitude on one side and discontent on the other. The sovereign naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the subject was not easily satisfied in the returns which he thought so great a favour had merited. Though Henry, on his accession, had bestowed the office of constable on Northumberland for life, and conferred other gifts on that family, yet these favours were considered as their due: the refusal of any other request was deemed an injury. The impatient spirit of Harry Percy, and the factious disposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to seek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at first established. He entered into a correspondence with Glendour; he gave liberty to the earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chief; he roused up all his partisans to arms; and such unlimited authority at that time belonged to the great families, that the same men, whom a few years before he had conducted against Richard, now followed his standard in opposition to Henry. When hostilities were ready to commence, Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour. The king had fortunately a small army on foot. He approached Percy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them hasten to a general engagement.

We shall scarcely find any battle in those ages where the shock was more terrible and more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight; his gallant son, whose military achievements were afterwards so renowned, and who here performed his

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noviciate in arms, signalized himself in the highest degree; and even a wound which he received in the face with an arrow could not oblige him to quit the field. Piercy supported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival, amidst the horror and confusion of the day. While the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Piercy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royalists prevailed. There are said to have fallen that day, on both sides, near two thousand three hundred gentlemen; but the persons of greatest distinction that were killed, belonged to the king's party. About six thousand private men perished, of whom two thirds were of Piercy's army. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners: the former was beheaded at Shrewsbury; the latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and valour.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his sickness, had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son; but being opposed by the earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his sole object in arming was to mediate between the parties: Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence. Most of the other insurgents were treated with equal lenity. Northumberland, however, having formed a new conspiracy against the king, was killed in an engagement at Bramham, in Yorkshire. This success, joined to the death of Glendour, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all his domestic enemies: and this prince, who had mounted the throne by such unjustifiable means and held it by such an acceptable title, by his valour, prudence, and address, had obtained a great ascendancy over his subjects.

Though Henry entertained a well-grounded jealousy of the family of Mortimer, yet he allowed not their name to be once mentioned in parliament; and as none of the rebels had ventured to declare the earl of Marche king, he never attempted to procure an express declaration against the claim of that nobleman. However, with a design of weakening the pretensions of the earl of Marche, he procured a settlement of the crown on himself and his heirs

male ; but the long contests with France had displayed the injustice of the Salic law ; and the parliament, apprehensive that they had destroyed the foundations of the English government, applied with such earnestness for a new settlement of the crown, that Henry yielded to their request, and agreed to the succession of the princes of his family.

But though the commons, during this reign, showed a laudable zeal for liberty in their transactions with the crown, their efforts against the church were still more extraordinary. In the sixth of Henry, being required to grant supplies, they proposed in plain terms to the king, that he should seize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to serve the exigencies of the state. The king, however, discouraged the application of the commons ; and the lords rejected the bill which the lower house had framed for stripping the church of her revenues. The commons were not discouraged by this repulse : in the eleventh of the king, they returned to the charge with more zeal than before : they made a calculation of all the ecclesiastical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to four hundred and eighty-five thousand marks a year, and contained eighteen thousand ploughs of land. They proposed to divide this property among fifteen new earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand esquires, and one hundred hospitals ; besides twenty thousand pounds a year, which the king might take for his own use ; and they insisted, that the clerical functions would be better performed than at present, by fifteen thousand parish priests, paid after the rate of seven marks a-piece of yearly stipend. This application was accompanied with an address for mitigating the statutes enacted against the Lollards, which shows from what source the address came. To this unjust and chimerical proposal, the king gave the commons a severe reply.

The king was so much employed in defending his crown, that he had little leisure to look abroad. His health declined some months before his death ; and though he was in the flower of his age, his end was visibly approaching. He expired at Westminster, (20th March,) in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of ^{A. D.} 1413 his reign. The prudence, vigilance, and foresight of Henry IV. in maintaining his power, were admirable ;

his command of temper was remarkable; his courage, both military and political, without blemish; and he possessed many qualities which fitted him for his high station, and which rendered his usurpation, though pernicious in after-times, rather salutary, during his own reign, to the English nation. He left four sons, Henry his successor, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, the latter to the king of Denmark.

The jealousies, to which the deceased monarch's situation naturally exposed him, had so infected his temper, that he regarded with distrust even his eldest son, whom, during the latter years of his life, he had excluded from public business. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into extravagancies of every kind. There remains a tradition, that, when heated with liquor and jollity, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous associates in attacking and plundering the passengers in the streets and highways. This extreme dissoluteness was not more agreeable to the father, than would have been his application to business; and Henry fancied he saw, in his son's behaviour, the same neglect of decency, which had degraded the character of Richard. But the nation regarded the young prince with more indulgence: they observed in him the seeds of generosity, spirit and magnanimity; and an accident which happened, afforded occasion for favourable reflections. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief justice, for some disorders; and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his presence did not overawe the chief justice, he proceeded to insult that magistrate on his tribunal; but Gascoigne, mindful of his own character, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws, which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behaviour; and the spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to this sentence, and make reparation of his error by acknowledging it.

The memory of this incident, and many others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of the future reign no-

wise disagreeable to the nation ; and the first steps taken by the young prince, confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but strictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their sincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his presence ; and he thus dismissed them with liberal presents. The wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, were received with all the marks of favour and confidence ; and the chief justice himself, who trembled to approach the royal presence, met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The surprise of those who expected an opposite behaviour, augmented their satisfaction ; and the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors.

At this time, the Lollards were every day increasing in the kingdom. The head of this sect was sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had distinguished himself by his valour and military talents, and had acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. His high character and zeal for the new sect pointed him out to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesiastical severity. The archbishop applied to Henry for permission to indict lord Cobham ; but the prince, averse to sanguinary methods of conversion, endeavoured, by a conversation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the Catholic faith. But he found that nobleman firm in his opinions ; and Henry's principles of toleration could carry him no farther. The primate indicted Cobham, and, with the assistance of his suffragans, condemned him to the flames for his erroneous opinions. Cobham escaped from the tower ; and his daring spirit, provoked by persecution and stimulated by zeal, prompted him to attempt the most criminal enterprises. He appointed a general rendezvous of his party, in order to seize the person of the king, and put their religious enemies to the sword ; but Henry, apprised of their intentions, apprehended such of the conspirators as appeared, and rendered the design ineffectual. It appeared that a few only were in the secret of the conspiracy : of these, some were executed ; and

Cobham himself, who had fled, was not brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body burnt upon the gibbet.

Charles the Sixth, king of France, after assuming the reins of government, had discovered symptoms of genius and spirit; but the unhappy prince being seized with an epileptic disorder, his judgment was gradually but sensibly impaired; and the administration of affairs was disputed between his brother, Lewis, duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John, duke of Burgundy. The latter procured his rival to be assassinated in the streets of Paris. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, with all the violence of party rage, made war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority.

These circumstances concurred to favour an enterprise of the English against France. Henry, therefore, assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton; and relying on the aid of the duke of Burgundy, he put to sea, and landed near Harfleur, with six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot. He obliged that city to capitulate after a gallant defence. The fatigues of this siege, and the usual heat of the season, had so wasted the English army, that Henry could enter on no other enterprise; and as he had dismissed his transports, he was under the necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety. By this time a numerous French army, of fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, was assembled in Normandy, under the constable d'Albert. Henry, therefore, offered to purchase a safe retreat at the expense of his new conquest of Harfleur; but his proposals being rejected, he marched slowly and deliberately to the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the same ford that had proved so auspicious to his predecessor Edward. The ford, however, was rendered impassable, by the precaution of the French; but he was so fortunate as to surprise a passage near St. Quentin, over which he safely carried his force. After passing the small river of Ternois at Blangi, he observed the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and so posted that an engagement was inevitable. The enemy was four

times more numerous than the English, and was headed by the dauphin, and all the princes of the blood.

Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Crecy, and of the Black Prince at Poitiers. The king drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded his flank, and patiently awaited the attack of the enemy. The French archers on horseback, and their men at arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced against the English archers, who had fixed palisadoes in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who, from behind that defence, safely plied them with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist. The heavy ground hindered the force of the French cavalry; the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay; and the English fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, being unable to flee or defend themselves, were slaughtered without resistance. Among the slain were the constable himself, the count of Nevers, and the duke of Brabant, both brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the count of Vaudemont, the dukes of Alençon and Barre, and the count of Marle; and among the prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Richmond, and the mareschal of Bousicaut. The killed, on the side of the French, are computed to have amounted to ten thousand men; and the prisoners to fourteen thousand. The person of chief note, who fell ^{A. D.} among the English, was the duke of York; and ¹⁴¹⁵ their whole loss is said not to have exceeded forty men.

During the interruption of hostilities which followed this engagement, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war. The count of Armagnac, created constable of France, prevailed on the king to send the queen to Tours, and confine her under a guard; and her son, the dauphin Charles, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac. In concert with her, the duke of Burgundy entered France at the head of a powerful army, and at last liberated the queen, who fixed her independent residence at Troyes, and openly declared against the ministers, who, she asserted, detained her royal consort in captivity. In the mean time, the partisans of Burgundy raised a commotion in Paris. Lisle Adam, one of the duke's captains, was received into the city, and headed the insurrection; the person of the king was seized; the dauphin escaped with difficulty; and the count of Armagnac, the chancellor,

and the principal adherents of the Orleans party, were inhumanly put to death.

Henry the Fifth again landed in Normandy, at the head of twenty-five thousand men. Having subdued all the lower Normandy, he formed the siege of Rouen, of which, at length, he made himself master. The duke of Burgundy was assassinated by the treachery of the dauphin; and his son thought himself bound to revenge the murder of his father. A league was concluded at Arras between Henry and the young duke of Burgundy, who agreed to every demand made by that monarch. By this treaty, which was concluded at Troyes, in the names of the kings of France and England, and the duke of Burgundy, it was stipulated, that Charles, during his life, ^{A. D.} should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; 1420 that Henry should be declared heir of the monarchy, and immediately intrusted with the reins of government, and that kingdom should pass to his heirs general; that France and England should ever be united under one king, but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges; and that Henry should join his arms to those of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, for the purpose of subduing the adherents of Charles the dauphin.

To push his present advantages, Henry, a few days after, espoused the princess Catharine, carried his father-in-law to Paris, and put himself in possession of that capital. He then turned his arms with success against the dauphin, who, as soon as he heard of the treaty of Troyes, had assumed the title of regent. That prince, chased beyond the Loire, almost entirely deserted by the northern provinces, and pursued into the south by the English and Burgundians, prepared to meet with fortitude the destruction which seemed inevitable. To crown the prosperity of Henry, his queen Catharine was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by equal rejoicings in Paris and in London.

The glory of Henry, however, had now reached its summit. He was seized with a fistula, a complaint which the ignorance of the age rendered mortal. Sensible of his approaching end, he devoted the few remaining moments of life to the concerns of his kingdom and family, and to the pious duties of religion. To the duke of Bedford, his elder brother, he left the regency of France; to the

duke of Gloucester, his younger brother, he committed that of England; and to the earl of Warwick he entrusted the care of his son's person and education. He expired in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and ^{A. D.} 1422 the tenth of his reign.

Henry the Fifth possessed many eminent virtues, which were unstained by any other blemish than ambition and the love of glory. His talents were equally distinguished in the field and the cabinet; and whilst we admire the boldness of his enterprises, we cannot refuse our praise to the prudence and valour by which they were conducted. His affability attached his friends to his service; and his address and clemency vanquished his enemies. His unceasing attention to the administration of justice, and his maintenance of discipline in the armies, alleviated both to France and England the calamities inseparable from those wars in which his short and splendid reign was almost entirely occupied. The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His stature was somewhat above the middle size; his countenance beautiful; his limbs genteel and slender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises. He left by his queen, Catharine of France, only one son, not full nine months old; whose misfortunes, in the course of his life, surpassed all the glories and successes of his father.

Catharine of France, Henry's widow, married, soon after his death, a Welsh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country: she bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the eldest was created earl of Richmond; the second, earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raised to distinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

CHAP. VIII.

The reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Edward V.

DURING the reign of the princes of the house of Lancaster, the authority of parliament had been more confirmed, and the privileges of the people more regarded, than in any former period. Without attending to the strict letter of the deceased monarch's recommendation, the lords and commons appointed the duke of Bedford *protector* or guar-

dian of the kingdom ; they invested the duke of Gloucester with the same dignity during the absence of his elder brother ; and, in order to limit the power of both these princes, they appointed a council, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be determined. The person and education of the infant prince were committed to Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, his great uncle, who, as his family could never have any pretensions to the crown, might safely, they thought, be intrusted with that important charge.

The conquest of France was the first object of the new government ; and, on a superficial view of the state of affairs, every advantage seemed to be on the side of the English. Though Henry was an infant, the duke of Bedford was the most accomplished prince of his age ; and the whole power of England was at his command. He was at the head of armies accustomed to victory ; he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age ; and besides Guienne, the ancient inheritance of England, he was master of Paris, and of almost all the northern provinces.

But Charles, notwithstanding his present inferiority, possessed some advantages which promised him success. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy ; and all Frenchmen, who knew the interest, or desired the independence of their country, turned their eyes towards him as their sole resource. Though only in his twentieth year, he was of the most friendly and benign disposition, of easy and familiar manners, and of a just, though not a very vigorous understanding. The love of pleasure often seduced him into indolence ; but, amidst all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth ; and by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved that his remissness did not proceed from the want of ambition or personal valour.

The resentment of the duke of Burgundy against Charles, still continued ; and the duke of Bedford, that he might corroborate national connections by private ties, concluded his own marriage with the princess of Burgundy, which had been stipulated by the treaty of Arras.

But the duke of Bedford was not so much employed in negotiations, as to neglect the operations of war. A considerable advantage was gained over the French, in the battle of Crevant, by the united forces of England and

Burgundy. In the mean time, the duke of Bedford was engaged in the siege of Yvri in Normandy; and the governor, finding his resources exhausted, agreed to surrender the town, if not relieved by a certain day. Charles, informed of these conditions, determined to make an attempt for saving the place; and collecting an army of fourteen thousand men, of whom one half were Scots, he entrusted it to the earl of Buchan, constable of France. When the constable arrived within a few leagues of Yvri, he found that the place had already surrendered; but he immediately invested Verneuil, which he carried without difficulty. On the approach of the duke of Bedford, Buchan called a council of war, in order to deliberate on the conduct necessary to be pursued. The wiser part of the council declared for a retreat; but a vain point of honour determined the assembly to await the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

In this action, the numbers of the contending armies were nearly equal; and the battle was fierce and well disputed. At length, the duke of Bedford, at the head of the men at arms, broke the ranks of the French, chased them off the field, and rendered the victory complete and decisive. Verneuil was surrendered next day by capitulation.

The fortunes of Charles now appeared almost desperate, when an incident happened which lost the English an opportunity of completing their conquests. Jaqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, and heiress of these provinces, had espoused John, duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy. The marriage had been dictated by motives of policy; but the duke of Brabant's weakness, both of body and mind, inspired the countess with contempt, which soon proceeded to antipathy. Impatient of effecting her purpose, she escaped into England, and solicited the protection of the duke of Gloucester. The impetuous passions of that prince, and the prospect of inheriting her rich inheritance, induced him to offer himself to her as a husband; and he entered into a contract of marriage with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to render himself master of her dominions. The duke of Burgundy resented the injury offered to the duke of Brabant, his near relation, and marched troops to his support; the quarrel, which was at first political, soon became personal; and the protector, instead of improving the victory

gained at Verneuil, found himself obliged to return to England, that he might try, by his councils and authority, to moderate the measures of the duke of Gloucester.

The pope annulled Jaqueline's contract with the duke of Gloucester; and Humphrey, despairing of success, married another lady, who had lived some time with him as his mistress. The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before she could recover possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to marry without his consent. This affair, however, left an unfavourable impression on the mind of Philip, and excited an extreme jealousy of the English. About the same time, the duke of Brittany withdrew himself from the alliance with England; his defection was followed by that of his brother, the count of Richemont; and both these princes joined the standard of their legitimate sovereign, Charles the Seventh.

Indignant at the conduct of the duke of Brittany, the duke of Bedford, on his arrival in France, secretly assembled a considerable army, and suddenly invading the province of Brittany, compelled its sovereign to renounce his alliance with France, and to yield homage to Henry for his duchy. Being thus freed from a dangerous enemy,

A. D. 1428 the English prince resolved to invest the city of Orleans, which was so situated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and those possessed by Charles, as to afford an easy entrance into either. He committed the conduct of the enterprise to the earl of Salisbury, who had greatly distinguished himself by his military talents during the present war. On the other hand, the French king reinforced the garrison, and replenished the magazines, and appointed as governor the lord of Gaucur, a brave and experienced officer.

The earl of Salisbury approached the place with an army of ten thousand men, and was killed by a cannon shot in a successful attack on the fortifications. The earl of Suffolk succeeded to the command; and being reinforced by large bodies of English and Burgundians, he completely invested Orleans. The inclemency of the season, and the rigour of the winter, could not overcome the perseverance of the besiegers, who seemed daily advancing to the completion of their enterprise. In order to distress

the enemy; the French had ravaged and exhausted the whole surrounding country; and the English were compelled to draw their subsistence from a considerable distance. A convoy of provisions was escorted by Sir John Falstoffs, with a detachment of two thousand five hundred men. Falstoffs, being attacked by a body of four thousand French, under the command of the counts of Clermont and Dunois, drew up his men behind the wagons; when the French were defeated by their own impetuosity, and five hundred of them perished on the field.

Charles had now only one expedient left for preserving that city. The duke of Orleans, still a prisoner in England, had prevailed on the duke of Gloucester and his council to consent to a neutrality in his demesnes, which should be sequestered during the war into the hands of the duke of Burgundy; but this proposal was rejected by the duke of Bedford, who replied, that "he was not in a humour to beat the bushes, whilst others ran away with the game." This answer disgusted the duke of Burgundy, who separated his forces from those of the English; but the latter pressed the siege with increased ardour; and scarcity was already experienced by the garrison and inhabitants.

Charles, almost reduced to despair, entertained thoughts of retiring with the remains of his army into Dauphine and Languedoc; but he was diverted from his purpose by the intreaties of his queen, Mary of Anjou, a princess of prudence and spirit, and by the remonstrances of his beautiful mistress, the celebrated Agnes Sorel.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, lived a country girl, called Joan d'Arc, who was a servant in a small inn, and who, having been accustomed to ride the horses of her master's guests to water, had acquired a degree of hardihood, which enabled her to endure the fatigues of war. The present situation of France was the common topic of conversation. Joan, inflamed by the general sentiment, fancied that she was destined by heaven to re-establish the throne of her sovereign; and the intrepidity of her mind led her to despise the dangers which would naturally attend such an attempt. She procured admission to Baudricourt, the governor of Vaucouleurs; and declared to him, that she had been exhorted by visions and voices to achieve the deliverance of

her country. Baudricourt, either equally credulous himself, or sufficiently penetrating to foresee the effect such an enthusiast might have on the minds of the vulgar, gave her an escort to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

On her arrival, she is said to have distinguished Charles, though he purposely remained in the crowd of his courtiers, and had divested himself of every ensign of royalty ; to have offered him to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct him to Rheims, there to be crowned and anointed ; and to have demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a sword which was kept in the church of St. Catharine, of Firebois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by its particular marks. Charles and his ministers pretended to examine her claims with scrupulous exactness ; and her mission was pronounced authentic and supernatural by an assemblage of doctors and theologians, and by the parliament of France, then residing at Poitiers.

To essay the power of Joan, she was sent to Blois, where a convoy was already provided for the relief of Orleans, and an army of ten thousand men were assembled to escort it. The holy maid marched at the head of the troops, and displayed in her hand a consecrated banner, on which was represented the Supreme Being holding the globe of the earth. The English affected to deride the maid and her heavenly commission ; but the common soldiers were insensibly impressed with horror, and waited with anxious dread the issue of these extraordinary preparations. In this state of the public mind, the earl of Suffolk durst not venture an attack ; and the French army returned to Blois without interruption. The maid entered the city of Orleans, arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her consecrated standard, and was received by the inhabitants as a celestial deliverer. A second convoy approached the city, on the side of Bause ; and the wagons and troops passed without interruption between the redoubts of the English, who, formerly elated with victory, and impatient for action, beheld the enterprises of their enemies in silent astonishment and religious awe. The maid seized the critical moment, and exhorting the garrison to attack the enemy in their entrenchments, the English were successively chased from their posts with the

loss of above six thousand men. In vain did the English generals oppose the prevailing opinion of supernatural influence; the English had lost their wonted courage and confidence, and were seized with amazement and despair.

Unable to remain longer in the presence of a victorious enemy, the earl of Suffolk raised the siege, and retired to Jergeau, which was attacked by the French, under the command of Joan. On this occasion, the maid displayed her usual intrepidity, and led the attack. The place was obstinately defended; but the English were at length overpowered, and Suffolk was obliged to yield himself prisoner. The remainder of the English army, commanded by Falstoffe, Scales, and Talbot, were pressed by the constable Richemont. They were overtaken at the village of Patay; and oppressed by their fears, they immediately fled. Two thousand of the English were slaughtered; and both Scales and Talbot were made prisoners.

The maid had fulfilled one part of her promise; and she now strongly insisted that the king should be crowned at Rheims. The city itself lay in a distant part of the kingdom, and was in the hands of the English; and the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garrisons. However, Charles resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophetess; and he set out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thousand men. Troys and Chalons opened their gates to him; and he was admitted into Rheims, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed. From this act, as from a heavenly commission, Charles seemed to derive an additional title to the crown, and many towns in the neighbourhood immediately submitted to his authority.

The abilities of the duke of Bedford were never displayed to more advantage than on this occasion. He put all the English garrisons in a posture of ^{A. D.} defence; he retained the Parisians in obedience by ¹⁴³⁰ alternately employing caresses and menaces; and he had the address to renew, in this dangerous crisis, his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, who had begun to waver in his fidelity. The French army, which consisted chiefly of volunteers, soon after disbanded; and Charles, after having possessed himself of Laval, Lagni, and St. Denys, retired to Bourges. Bedford caused Henry the Sixth to be crowned and anointed at Paris, and exacted an oath

of allegiance from all who lived in the provinces still possessed by England.

After the coronation of Charles at Rheims, the maid of Orleans declared that her mission was now fulfilled; but the count of Dunois exhorted her to persevere till the English should be finally expelled. Overcome by his importunities, she had thrown herself into the town of Compeigne, which was at that time besieged by the duke of Bedford, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. In a sally, she was deserted by her friends, probably out of envy; and being surrounded by the enemy, she was taken prisoner. The duke of Bedford purchased the captive from John of Luxemburgh, into whose hands she had fallen, and commenced a prosecution against her, which, whether undertaken from policy or revenge, was equally barbarous and dishonourable. She was tried for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic; and though harassed by interrogatories for the space of four hours, she betrayed no weakness or womanish submission, but answered with firmness and intrepidity. However, she was convicted of all the crimes of which she had been accused, aggravated by heresy; her revelations were declared to be the inventions of the devil to delude the people; and she was sentenced to be burnt in the market place of Rouen. The inhuman sentence was accordingly executed; and the unhappy victim expiated by her death the signal services which she had rendered to her prince and her country.

The affairs of the English, instead of being advanced by this inhuman act, became every day more ruinous; and the abilities of Bedford were unable to prevent the French from returning under the obedience of their legitimate sovereign. The duke of Burgundy determined to unite himself to the royal family of France, from which his own
 A. D. 1345 had descended; and a congress was appointed at Arras, in which were adjusted the mutual pretensions of Charles and Philip. Soon after this transaction, the duke of Bedford expired, a prince of great abilities and many virtues, and whose memory is chiefly tarnished by the execution of the maid of Orleans. After his death, the court of Henry was distracted by the rival parties of the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester; and it was seven months before the duke of York, son to the earl of Cambridge, who had been execu-

ted in the beginning of the last reign, was appointed successor to the duke of Bedford. On his arrival in France, the new governor found the capital already lost. The Parisians were attached to the house of Burgundy; and after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, they returned to their allegiance under their native sovereign. Lord Willoughby, with an English garrison of fifteen hundred men, retired into the Bastile; but his valour and skill only served to procure him a capitulation, by which he was allowed with his troops a safe retreat into Normandy.

The cardinal of Winchester had always encouraged every proposal of accommodation with France, and had represented the utter impossibility of pushing farther the conquest in that kingdom; but the duke of Gloucester, high-spirited and haughty, and educated in the lofty pretensions which the first success of his two brothers had rendered familiar to him, could not be induced to relinquish all hopes of subduing France. However, the earl of Suffolk, who adhered to the cardinal's party, was despatched to Tours to negotiate with the French ministers. As it was found impossible to adjust the terms of a lasting peace, a truce for twenty-two months was concluded; and Suffolk proceeded to the execution of another business, which seems to have been rather implied than expressed in the powers granted to him.

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As Henry advanced in years, his character became fully known. He was found to be of the most harmless, simple manners, but of the most slender capacity; and hence it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now, however, reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of choosing him a queen. The duke of Gloucester proposed a daughter of the count of Armagnac, but the cardinal and his friends cast their eyes on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem: a princess accomplished both in person and mind, of a masculine spirit, and an enterprising temper, which she had not been able to conceal even in the privacy of her father's family. The earl of Suffolk, in concert with his associates of the English council, made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. Though Margaret brought no dowry with her, this nobleman ventured of himself, without any direct authority from the council,

but probably with the approbation of the cardinal and the ruling members, to engage, by a secret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle, who was prime minister and favourite of the French king, and who had already received from his master the grant of that province as his appanage.

The treaty of marriage was ratified in England: Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke; and even received the thanks of parliament for his services in concluding it. The princess immediately fell into close connexions with the cardinal and his party, who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester.

The generous prince, ill-suited to court intrigues, but possessing in a high degree the favour of the public, had received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which he had hitherto borne without violating the public peace, but which it was impossible that a person of his spirit and humanity could ever forgive. His duchess, the daughter of Reginald lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Marjery Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away, by like insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age; and the duchess was brought to trial with her confederates. A charge of this ridiculous nature seems always to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common sense in their evidence: the prisoners were pronounced guilty; the duchess was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; and the others were executed. As these violent proceedings were ascribed solely to the malice of the duke's enemies, the people, contrary to their usual practice in such trials, acquitted the unhappy sufferers, and increased their esteem and affection towards a prince who was thus exposed to mortal injuries.

The sentiments of the public made the cardinal and his party sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whom

they had so deeply injured. In order to effect their purpose, a parliament was summoned to meet, not at London, which was supposed to be too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmondsbury. As soon as Gloucester appeared, he was accused of treason, and; thrown into prison : he was soon after found dead in his ^{A. D.} bed ; and though it was pretended that his death ¹⁴⁴⁷ was natural, and his body bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies.

The cardinal of Winchester died six weeks after his nephew, whose murder was universally ascribed to him as well as to the duke of Suffolk, and which, it is said, gave him more remorse in his last moments, than could be naturally expected from a man hardened, during the course of a long life, in falsehood and in politics. What share the queen had in this guilt is uncertain : her usual activity and spirit made the people conclude, with some reason, that the duke's enemies durst not have ventured on such a deed without her privity. But there happened, soon after, an event of which she and her favourite, the duke of Suffolk, bore incontestibly the whole odium.

The article of the marriage treaty, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, had been hitherto kept secret ; but as the court of France strenuously insisted on its performance, orders were now despatched, under Henry's hand, to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, to surrender that place. Surienne, questioning the authenticity of the order, refused to comply ; but a French army, under the count of Dunois, obliged him to surrender not only Mans, but all the other fortresses in that province. Surienne, at the head of his garrisons, retired into Normandy : but the duke of Somerset, who was governor of that province, refused to admit him ; and this adventurer marched into Brittany, and subsisted his troops by the ravages which he exercised. The duke of Brittany complained of this violence to the king of France, his liege lord ; and Charles remonstrated with Somerset, who replied, that the injury was done without his privity, and that he had no authority over Surienne. Charles refused to admit of this apology, and insisted that reparation should be made to the duke of Brittany for all the damages which he had sustained ; and, in order to render an accommodation absolutely imprac-

ticable, he estimated the loss at no less a sum than one million six hundred thousand crowns.

Sensible of the superiority which the present state of his affairs gave him over England, he was determined to take advantage of it; and, accordingly, Normandy was at once invaded by four powerful armies: the first
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1449 commanded by the king of France himself; the second, by the duke of Brittany; the third, by the duke of Alençon; and the fourth, by the count of Dunois. The conquest of Normandy was speedily finished by Charles. A like rapid success attended the French arms in Guienne; and the English were expelled from a province which they had held for three centuries.

The palpable weakness of Henry the Sixth had encouraged a pretender to the crown of England; and the English were doomed to pay, though late, the penalty of their turbulence under Richard the Second, and of their levity in violating, without any necessity, the lineal succession of their monarchs. All the males of the house of Mortimer were extinct; but Anne, the sister of the last earl of Marche, having espoused the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V., had transmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim to her son, Richard, duke of York. This prince, thus descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III., stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, third son of that monarch; and that claim could not, in many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than those of the duke of York. Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild disposition; he had enjoyed an opportunity of displaying these virtues in his government of France; and though recalled by the intrigues and superior interest of the duke of Somerset, he had been sent to suppress a rebellion in Ireland; and had even been able to attach to his person and family the whole Irish nation, whom he was sent to subdue. In the right of his father, he bore the rank of first prince of the blood; and by this station he gave a lustre to his title derived from the family of Mortimer, which, however, had been eclipsed by the royal descent of the house of Lancaster. He possessed an immense fortune from the union of so many succes-

sions, those of Cambridge and York on the one hand, with those of Mortimer on the other; which last inheritance had been before augmented by a union of the estates of Clarence and Ulster, with the patrimonial possessions of the family of Marche. The alliance too of Richard, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility, and had procured him many connections in that formidable order. Among the rest, he was nearly allied to the earl of Warwick, commonly known from the subsequent events by the appellation of the King-maker. This nobleman had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the field, by the hospitality of his table, by the magnificence, and still more by the generosity of his expense, and by the spirited and bold manner which attended him in all his actions. The undesigning frankness and openness of his character rendered his conquest over men's affections the more certain. No less than thirty thousand persons are said to have daily lived at his expense in the different manors and castles which he possessed; and he was the greatest, as well as the last, of those mighty barons, who formerly overawed the crown.

The humours of the people, set afloat by a parliamentary impeachment, and by the fall of the duke of Suffolk, broke out in various commotions, which were soon suppressed; but an insurrection in Kent was attended with more dangerous consequences. One John Cade, a native of Ireland, a man of low condition, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, observed, on his return to England, the discontents of the people, and assumed the name of John Mortimer. On the first mention of that popular name, the common people of Kent, to the number of twenty thousand, flocked to Cade's standard; and he inflamed their zeal by publishing complaints against the numerous abuses in government, and demanding a redress of grievances. Cade advanced with his followers towards London, and encamped on Blackheath; and transmitting to the court a plausible list of grievances, he promised that when these should be redressed, and lord Say the treasurer, and Cromer sheriff of Kent, should be punished for their malversations, he would immediately lay down his arms. The council, perceiving the reluctance of the people to fight against men so reasonable in

their pretensions, carried the king, for present safety, to Kenilworth; and the city immediately opened its gates to Cade, who maintained, during some time, great order and discipline among his followers. But being obliged, in order to gratify their malevolence against Say and Cromer, to put these men to death without a legal trial, he found that after the commission of this crime, he was no longer able to control their riotous disposition, and that all his orders were disobeyed. Proceeding to acts of plunder and violence, the citizens became alarmed, and shut their gates against them; and, being seconded by a detachment of soldiers sent them by lord Scales, governor of the tower, they repulsed the rebels with great slaughter. The Kentishmen were so discouraged by the blow, that upon receiving a general pardon from the primate, then chancellor, they retreated towards Rochester, and there dispersed. The pardon, however, was soon after annulled, as extorted by violence; a price was set on Cade's head, who was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Sussex; and many of his followers were punished with death.

The court suspected that the duke of York had secretly instigated Cade to this attempt, to sound the dispositions of the people towards his title and family; and fearing that he intended to return from Ireland with an armed force, the ruling party issued orders debarring him entrance into England. The duke refuted his enemies by coming attended with only his ordinary retinue; but finding himself an object of jealousy, he saw the impossibility of remaining a quiet subject, and the necessity of proceeding forward in support of his claim. His partisans, therefore, were instructed to maintain his right by succession, and by the established constitution of the kingdom; and the arguments adduced by his adherents and those of the reigning family, divided and distracted the people. The noblemen of greatest influence espoused the part of the duke of York; but the earl of Northumberland adhered to the present government; and the earl of Westmoreland, though head of the family of Nevil, was prevailed on to support the cause of Henry.

The public discontents were increased by the loss of the province of Gascony, which was subdued by the French; and though the English might deem themselves happy in being freed from all continental possessions,

they expressed great dissatisfaction on the occasion, and threw all the blame on the ministry. While they were in this disposition, the queen's delivery of a son, who received the name of Edward, had a tendency to inflame the public mind, as it removed all hopes of the peaceable succession of the duke of York, who was otherwise, in the right of his father, and by the laws enacted since the accession of the house of Lancaster, next heir to the crown. The duke, however, was incapable of violent councils; and even when no visible obstacles lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own scruples from mounting it. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell about this time into a distemper, which so far increased his natural imbecility, that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, destitute of this support, and finding themselves unable to resist the York party, were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent to the tower the duke of Somerset, who had succeeded to Suffolk's influence in the ministry, and who had soon become equally the object of public animosity and hatred; and they appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament. That assembly also, taking into consideration the state of the kingdom, created him protector during pleasure. Yet the duke, instead of pushing them to make farther concessions, appeared somewhat timid and irresolute, even in receiving the power which was tendered to him. This moderation of Richard was certainly very unusual and very amiable; yet it was attended with bad consequences in the present juncture, and, by giving time to the animosities of faction to rise and ferment, it proved the source of all those furious wars and commotions which ensued.

The enemies of the duke of York soon found it in their power to take advantage of his excessive caution. Henry, being so far recovered from his distemper as to carry the appearance of exercising the royal power, was moved to resume his authority, to annul the protectorship of the duke, to release Somerset from the tower, and to commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. Richard, sensible of the dangers to which he might be exposed, if he submitted to the annulling of the parliamentary commission, levied an army; but still without advan-

cing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Al-

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1455 ban's, in which the Yorkists, without suffering any material loss, slew about five thousand of their enemies. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness; and he was only obliged, which he regarded as no hardship, to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival. This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster, which lasted for thirty years, and which is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England.

An outward reconciliation was effected, by means of the archbishop of Canterbury, between the two parties; but it was evident, that the contest for a crown could not thus be peaceably accommodated. One of the king's retinue insulted one of the earl of Warwick's, and their companions on both sides took part in the quarrel; a fierce combat ensued; the earl, apprehending his life to be aimed at, fled to his government of Calais, which gave him the command of the only regular force maintained by England; and both parties, in every county, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by arms.

The earl of Salisbury, marching to join the duke of York, was overtaken at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by lord Audley, who commanded much superior forces. A small rivulet ran between the two armies; and when the van of the royal army had passed the brook, Salisbury suddenly attacked them, and put them to the rout; and obtaining a complete victory, he reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkists at Ludlow. To the same place, the earl of Warwick brought a choice body of veterans from Calais, on whom it was thought the fortune of the war would much depend; but when the royal army approached, and a general action was every hour expected, sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans, deserted to the king in the night time, and the Yorkists were so dismayed at this instance of treachery, which made every man suspicious of his fellow, that they separated next day, without striking a stroke. The duke fled to Ireland; the earl of Warwick, attended by many

of the other leaders, escaped to Calais, where his great popularity among all orders of men soon drew to him partisans ; and the friends of the house of York, in England, kept themselves every where in readiness to rise on the first summons.

After meeting with some success at sea, Warwick landed in Kent, with the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Marche, eldest son of the duke of York ; and being met by the primate, by lord Cobham, and other persons of distinction, he marched, amidst the acclamations of the people, to London. A battle was fought at Northampton, and was soon decided against the royalists, of whom the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, and sir William Lucie, with many other persons of quality, were killed in the action or pursuit. Henry himself was again taken prisoner ; and, as the innocence and simplicity of his manners had procured him the tender regard of the people, he was treated with abundant respect.

A parliament was summoned in the king's name at Westminster, where the duke of York soon after appeared from Ireland. This prince stated to the house of peers his own claim to the crown, and exhorted them to do justice to the lineal successor. The lords remained in some suspense, but at length declared in favour of the duke of York. They determined, however, that Henry should possess the dignity during the remainder of his life ; that the administration of the government should in the meanwhile remain with Richard ; and that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy.

But Margaret, whose high spirit spurned at the compact, was not remiss in defending the rights of her family. After the battle of Northampton, she had fled with her infant son to the north, where her affability, insinuation, and address, among the northern barons, raised her an army twenty thousand strong, with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends, nor apprehended by her enemies. The duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither with a body of five thousand men ; but on his arrival at Wakefield, finding himself so much outnumbered by the enemy, he threw himself into Sandal castle ; and was advised by the earl of Salisbury and other prudent counsellors, to remain in that fortress, till his son,

the earl of Marche, who was levying forces in the borders of Wales, could advance to his assistance. But the duke, who possessed personal bravery in an eminent degree, thought that he should be for ever disgraced, if, by taking shelter behind walls, he should for a moment resign the victory to a woman. He therefore descended into the plain, and offered battle to the enemy, which was instantly accepted. The great inequality of numbers was alone sufficient to decide the victory; but the queen, by sending a detachment, who fell on the back of the duke's army, rendered her advantage still more certain and undisputed. The duke himself was killed in the action; and his head, by Margaret's orders, was fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown, in derision of his pretended title. There fell near three thousand Yorkists in this battle: the duke himself was greatly and justly lamented by his own party. He perished in the fiftieth year of his age, and left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

The queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She sent the smaller division, under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half brother to the king, against Edward, the new duke of York. She herself marched with the larger division towards London, where the earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, with the loss of near four thousand men; but Margaret compensated this defeat by a victory which she obtained over the earl of Warwick at St. Albans; and the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party.

The queen, however, reaped no great advantage from this victory. Young Edward advanced upon her from the other side; and collecting the remains of Warwick's army, he was soon in a condition of giving her battle with a superior force. Sensible of her danger, she found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north; and Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens. Instead of confining himself to the narrow limits to which his father had submitted, he determined to avail himself of his popularity, and to assume the name and dignity of king. His army was ordered to assemble in St. John's Fields; great numbers of people surrounded

them ; an harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude, setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the rival family ; and the people were then asked, whether they would accept of Edward, eldest son of the late duke of York, for their king ? They expressed their assent by loud and joyful acclamations. A great number of bishops, lords, magistrates, and other persons of distinction, were next assembled at Baynard's castle, who ratified the popular election ; and the new king was on the subsequent day proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward the Fourth.

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In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI. a monarch who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king both of France and England, and who began his life with the most splendid prospects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. His weakness and his disputed title were the chief causes of the public calamities : but whether his queen, and his ministers, were not also guilty of some great abuses of power, it is not easy for us at this distance of time to determine. The scaffold, as well as the field, incessantly streamed with the noblest blood of England, spilt in the quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable. The partisans of the house of Lancaster chose the red rose as their mark of distinction ; those of York were denominated from the white ; and these civil wars were thus known, over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the two roses.

Queen Margaret assembled an army in Yorkshire ; and the king and the earl of Warwick hastened with forty thousand men to check her progress. In a skirmish for the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Ayre, the Yorkists were chased back with great slaughter. The earl of Warwick, dreading the consequences of this disaster, at a time when a decisive action was every hour expected, immediately ordered his horse to be brought him, which he stabbed before the whole army ; and kissing the hilt of his sword, swore that he was determined to share the fate of the meanest soldier. And, to show the greater security, a proclamation was at the same time issued, giving to every one full liberty to retire ; but menacing the severest

punishment to those who should discover any symptoms of cowardice in the ensuing battle.

The hostile armies met at Touton; and a fierce and bloody battle ensued, which ended in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter. The routed army was pursued to Tadcaster with great bloodshed and confusion; and above thirty-six thousand men are computed to have fallen in the battle and pursuit: among these were the earl of Westmoreland, and his brother, sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonshire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was brought a prisoner to Edward; and was, soon after, beheaded by martial law at York. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland; and on Margaret's offering to the Scottish council to deliver to them immediately the important fortress of Berwick, and to contract her son in marriage with a sister of king James, the Scots promised the assistance of their arms to reinstate her family upon the throne.

But as the danger from that quarter seemed not very urgent to Edward, he did not pursue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat; but returned to London, where a parliament was summoned for settling the government. That assembly no longer hesitated between the two families; they recognised the title of Edward, and passed an act of attainder against Henry and Margaret, against their infant son Edward, and their principal adherents.

However, Lewis the eleventh of France, a prince of an intriguing and politic genius, sent a body of two thousand men at arms to the assistance of Henry. These enabled Margaret to take the field; but though reinforced by a numerous train of adventurers from Scotland, and by many partisans of the family of Lancaster, she received a check at Hedgley-moor from lord Montague, brother to the earl of Warwick, who was so encouraged with this success, that while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him by orders from Edward, he ventured with his own troops alone to attack the Lancastrians at Hexham, and obtained a complete victory over

them. All those who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold ; and the utter extermination of their adversaries was now become the plain object of the York party.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this defeat, was singular. Margaret, fleeing with her son into a forest, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel among them ; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took an opportunity of plunging with her son into the depths of the forest. While in this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with his naked sword ; and finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly advanced towards him ; and presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, " here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son." The man, whose humanity and generous spirit had been obscured, not entirely lost, by his vicious course of life, was charmed with the confidence reposed in him, and vowed not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service. By his means she dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea coast, whence she made her escape into Flanders. She passed thence to her father's court, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate nor so dexterous in finding the means of escape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancashire, where he remained concealed during a year ; but he was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the tower. The preservation of his life was owing less to the generosity of his enemies than to the contempt which they had entertained of his courage and understanding.

The imprisonment of Henry, the expulsion of Margaret, and the execution and confiscation of all the most eminent Lancastrians, seemed to give full security to Edward's government ; but the amorous temper of the prince led him into an act which proved fatal to his repose, and to the stability of his throne. Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the duchess of Bedford, by her second marriage with sir Richard Woodville, and widow of sir John Grey, of Gro-

by, who had been slain in the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and whose estate had been confiscated, seized the opportunity, when the king was on a visit to the duchess of Bedford, of throwing herself at his feet, and entreating his pity for her impoverished and distressed children. The sight of so much beauty in affliction strongly affected Edward; and he was reduced, in his turn, to the posture of a suppliant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady was either averse to dishonourable love, or inflamed with ambition; and the caresses and importunities of the young and amiable Edward proved fruitless against her rigid and inflexible virtue. His passion, increased by opposition, carried him beyond all bounds; and he offered to share with her his throne, as well as his heart. The marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton; and the secret was carefully kept for some time, from motives of policy, which at that time rendered this proceeding highly dangerous and imprudent.

The king had a little before cast his eye on Bona of Savoy, sister of the queen of France, who, he hoped, would, by her marriage, ensure him the friendship of that power, which was alone both able and inclined to give support and assistance to his rival. To render the negotiation more successful, the earl of Warwick had been despatched to Paris, where the princess then resided. This nobleman had demanded Bona in marriage for the king; his proposals had been accepted; and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing over the princess to England. But when the secret of Edward's marriage broke out, the haughty earl, deeming himself affronted, returned to England, inflamed with rage and indignation; and an extensive and dangerous combination was insensibly formed against Edward and his ministry. A rebellion arose in Lincolnshire, and was headed by sir Robert Welles, son to the lord of that name; but the king defeated the army of the rebels, took their leader prisoner, and ordered him immediately to execution.

Edward had entertained so little jealousy of the earl of Warwick or duke of Clarence, the king's second brother, who had married the earl's eldest daughter, that he sent them with commissions of array to levy forces against the rebels; but these malcontents, as soon as they left the

court, raised troops in their own name, issued declarations against the government, and complained of grievances, oppressions, and bad ministers. The unexpected defeat of Welles disconcerted all their measures; and they were obliged to disband their army, and to fly into Devonshire, whence they embarked and made sail towards Calais.

The king of France, jealous of the alliance entered into between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, received Warwick with the greatest demonstrations of regard, and hoped to make him his instrument for re-establishing the house of Lancaster. Margaret being sent for from Angers, where she then resided, an agreement dictated by mutual interest was soon concluded between them. Edward, however, foresaw that it would be easy to dissolve an alliance composed of such discordant materials. He employed a lady in the train of the duchess of Clarence, to represent to the duke that he had unwarily become the instrument of Warwick's vengeance, and had formed a connection with the murderers of his father, and the implacable enemies of his family. Clarence, struck with the force of these arguments, on a promise of forgiveness, secretly engaged to abandon the Lancastrian party. Warwick also was secretly carrying on a correspondence of the same nature with his brother, the marquis of Montague, who was entirely trusted by Edward; and like motives produced a like resolution in that nobleman. Warwick availed himself of a storm to cross the channel, and, with a small body of French troops, landed at Dartmouth, accompanied by the duke of Clarence, and the earls of Oxford and Pembroke.

Edward, though brave and active, had little foresight. He had made no preparations for this event; and he had even said, that he wished for nothing more A. D.
1470 than to see Warwick on English ground. However, the prodigious popularity of that nobleman, the zeal of the Lancastrian party, and the spirit of discontent with which many were infected, drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a few days his army amounted to sixty thousand men, and was continually increasing. Edward, who had been employed in suppressing an insurrection in the north, now hastened southward to encounter him; and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham. The rapidity of Warwick's progress had incapacitated

tated the duke of Clarence from executing his plan of treachery ; but the marquis of Montague, having communicated the design to his adherents, took to arms in the night time, and hastened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters. The king had just time to get on horseback, and to hurry with a small retinue to Lynn, in Norfolk, where finding some ships ready, he instantly embarked. Thus, the earl of Warwick, in no longer space than eleven days after his first landing, was left entire master of the kingdom.

Immediately after Edward's flight, Warwick hastened to London ; and delivering Henry from his confinement in the tower, he proclaimed him king with great solemnity ; and every thing now promised a full settlement of the English crown in the family of Lancaster. However, Edward being assisted by the duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, though in a covert way, he set sail for England ; and, impatient to take vengeance on his enemies, he made an attempt to land with his forces, which did not exceed two thousand men, on the coast of Norfolk ; but being there repulsed, he sailed northward, and disembarked at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. Finding that the new magistrates, who had been appointed by the earl of Warwick, kept the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the house of York, which of right belonged to him ; and that he did not intend to disturb the peace of the kingdom. His partisans every moment flocked to his standard ; he was admitted into the city of York ; and he was soon in such a situation as gave him hopes of succeeding in all his former claims and pretensions. Warwick assembled an army at Leicester, with an intention of meeting, and of giving battle to the enemy ; but Edward, by taking another road, passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London. His numerous friends facilitated his admission into the capital ; and his entrance into London made him master not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, again fell into the hands of his enemies.

The king soon found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwick, who, being reinforced by his son-in-law,

the duke of Clarence, and his brother, the marquis of Montague, took post at Barnet, in the vicinity of London. His brother Montague seems to have remained attached to the interests of his family ; but his son-in-law, though bound to him by every tie of honour and gratitude, resolved to fulfil the secret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and deserted to the king in the night time, carrying over a body of twelve thousand men along with him. Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat ; and as he rejected with disdain all terms of accommodation offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with obstinacy on both sides ; ^{A. D.} 1471 and the victory remained long undecided between them. But an accident threw the balance on the side of the Yorkists. Warwick engaged that day on foot, and was slain in the thickest of the engagement ; his brother underwent the same fate ; and as Edward had issued orders not to give any quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit.

The same day on which this decisive battle was fought, queen Margaret and her son, now about eighteen years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march ; but was at last overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn. The Lancastrians were here totally defeated ; and the army was entirely dispersed.

Queen Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince, after an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions ? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his present fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet ; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and sir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a signal for further violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there despatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower : king Henry died in that confinement a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury ; but whe-

ther he died a natural or a violent death is uncertain. It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hands; but the universal odium which that prince has incurred, inclined, perhaps, the nation to aggravate his crimes without any sufficient authority.

All the hopes of the house of Lancaster seemed now utterly extinguished; and Edward was firmly established on the throne of England. This prince was active and intrepid in adversity, but unable to resist the allurements of prosperity. He now devoted himself to pleasure and amusement; but he was roused from his lethargy by the prospect of foreign conquests. He formed a league with the duke of Burgundy to invade France; and for this purpose, the parliament voted him a tenth of rents, or two shillings in the pound, which produced only £31,460; and they added to this supply a whole fifteenth, and three quarters of another; but as the king deemed these sums still unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of *benevolence*; a kind of exaction which, except during the reigns of Henry the Third and Richard the Second, had not been much practised in former times, and which, though the consent of the parties were pretended to be gained, could not be deemed entirely voluntary.

The king passed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers; but all his hopes of conquest were damped, when he found that the constable St. Pol, who had secretly promised to join him, did not receive him into the towns of which he was master, nor the duke of Burgundy bring him the smallest assistance. This circumstance gave great disgust to the king, and inclined him to hearken to the pacific overtures of Lewis, who consented to pay Edward immediately seventy-five thousand crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay him fifty thousand crowns a year during their joint lives. It was farther stipulated, that the dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter. The articles of this treaty were ratified in a personal interview which the two monarchs had at Pacquigni, near Amiens. This treaty was little honourable to either of these monarchs; it discovered the imprudence of Edward,

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and the want of dignity in Lewis, who, rather than hazard a battle, agreed to subject his kingdom to a tribute. The most honourable part of it was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who, though after the death of her husband and son, she could no longer be formidable to government, was still detained in custody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom; and that princess, who had been so active on the stage of the world, and who had experienced such a variety of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquility and privacy, till the year 1482, when she died.

Edward abandoned himself entirely to indolence and pleasure, which were now become his ruling passions; but an act of tyranny, of which he was guilty in his own family, has met with general and deserved censure. The duke of Clarence, after all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendship. He was also an object of displeasure to the queen, as well as to his brother, the duke of Gloucester, a prince of the deepest policy, and the most unrelenting ambition. A combination between these potent adversaries being secretly formed against Clarence, it was determined to begin by attacking his friends, of whom several were put to death for the most trivial offences. Clarence, instead of securing his own life by silence and reserve, was open and loud in exclaiming against the iniquity of their persecutors. The king highly offended with his freedom, or using that pretence against him, committed him to the tower, summoned a parliament, and tried him for his life before the house of peers, on charges the most frivolous and futile. A sentence of condemnation, however, was a necessary consequence in those times, of any prosecution by the court or the prevailing party; and the duke of Clarence was pronounced guilty by the peers. The house of commons were no less slavish and unjust: they both petitioned for the execution of the duke, and afterwards passed a bill of attainder against him. The only favour which the king granted his brother, after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey in the tower; a whimsical choice; which implies that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor.

All the energies of Edward's reign seem to have terminated with the civil wars: his spirit afterwards sunk into

indolence and pleasure. Whilst, however, he was making preparations for a war against France, he was seized with a distemper of which he died in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. Besides five daughters, Edward left two sons; Edward, prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard, duke of York, in his ninth.

The king, on his death-bed, had entrusted the regency to his brother, the duke of Gloucester, then absent in the north; and he recommended to the rival nobles peace and unanimity during the tender years of his son. But he had no sooner expired, than the jealousies of the parties broke out; and each of them endeavoured to obtain the favour of the duke of Gloucester.

This prince, whose unbounded ambition led him to carry his views to the possession of the crown itself, prevailed on the queen, by profession of zeal and attachment, to countermand the order which she had issued to her brother, the earl of Rivers, to levy a body of forces, and to direct him to bring up the young king from Ludlow to London, with only his ordinary retinue. In the mean time, the duke of Gloucester set out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. When he reached Northampton, he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was also attended by a splendid retinue; and after being met by the earl of Rivers, who had sent his pupil forward to Stony Stratford, they all proceeded on the road the next day to the king; but as they entered Stony Stratford, the earl of Rivers was arrested by orders from the duke of Gloucester, together with sir Richard Grey, one of the queen's sons, and instantly conducted to Pomfret.

On intelligence of her brother's imprisonment, the queen fled into the sanctuary of Westminster, attended by the marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the duke of York. But Gloucester, anxious to have the duke of York also in his power, employed the archbishops of Canterbury and York, who, duped by the villain's artifice and dissimulation, prevailed on the queen to deliver up the prince, that he might be present at the coronation of his brother.

The council, without waiting for the consent of parliament, had already invested the duke of Gloucester with the high dignity of protector; and having so far succeeded

in his views, he no longer hesitated in removing the other obstructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of the earl of Rivers, and of the other prisoners detained in Pomfret, was first determined; and he easily obtained the consent of the duke of Buckingham, as well as of lord Hastings, to this violent and sanguinary measure, which was promptly executed.

The protector then assailed the fidelity of Buckingham, by specious arguments, and offers of great private advantages, and obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises. Knowing the importance of gaining lord Hastings, he sounded him at a distance; but finding him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, he determined on his destruction. Having summoned a council in the tower, whither that nobleman, suspecting no design against him, repaired without hesitation, the protector asked them, what punishment those deserved that had plotted against his life, who was so nearly related to the king, and was entrusted with the administration of government? Hastings replied, that they merited the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," cried the protector, "are the sorcerers, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his mistress, with others, their associates: see to what a condition they have reduced me, by their incantations and witchcraft;" upon which he laid bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. The counsellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement; and above all, lord Hastings, who, as he had since Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally anxious concerning the issue of these extraordinary proceedings. "Certainly, my lord," said he, "if they be guilty of these crimes, they deserve the severest punishment." "And do you reply to me," exclaimed the protector, "with your *ifs* and your *ands*? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore; you are yourself a traitor; and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me." He struck the table with his hand: armed men rushed in at the signal: the counsellors were thrown into the utmost consternation; and Hastings being seized, was hurried away, and instantly beheaded on a timber log, which lay in the court of the tower.

After the murder of Hastings, the protector no longer

made a secret of his intention to usurp the crown. A report was industriously circulated, that Edward, before espousing the lady Elizabeth Grey, had been privately married to the lady Eleanor Talbot, and that consequently the offspring of the last marriage were illegitimate. In an assembly of the citizens, convoked for the purpose, the duke of Buckingham harangued the people on the protector's title to the crown; when, after several useless efforts, some of the meanest apprentices raised a feeble cry of "God save king Richard!" This was deemed sufficient; and the crown was formally tendered to Richard, who pretended to refuse it, but was at length prevailed on to accept the offer. This ridiculous farce was soon after followed by a scene truly tragical: the murder of the two young princes, who were smothered by hired ruffians in the tower, and whose bodies were buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones.*

CHAP. IX.

The reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.

THE first acts of Richard were to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in usurping the crown; but the person who, from the greatness of his services, was best entitled to favours under the new government, was the duke of Buckingham; and Richard seemed determined to spare no pains or bounty in securing him to his interests. That nobleman was invested with the office of constable, and received a grant of the forfeited estate of Bohun, earl of Hereford. It was, however, impossible that friendship could long remain inviolate between two men of such corrupt minds as Richard and the duke of Buckingham. Certain it is, that the duke, soon after Richard's accession, began to form a conspiracy against the government.

By the exhortations of Morton, bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, the duke cast his eye toward the young earl of Richmond, as the only person capable of opposing an

* In the reign of Charles II. the bones of two persons were found in the place above mentioned, which exactly corresponded by their size to the ages of Edward V. and his brother; and being considered as the undoubted remains of these princes, they were deposited in Westminster Abbey, under a marble tomb.

Edward the Fourth and Elizabeth Woodville.

Murder of the Princes in the Tower.

usurper, whose murder of the young princes had rendered him the object of general detestation. Henry, earl of Richmond, was at this time detained in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Brittany; and his descent, which seemed to give him some pretensions to the crown, had been for some time a great object of jealousy. He was descended from John of Gaunt, and was nearly allied to Henry VI.

As all the descendants of the house of York were now either women or minors, it was suggested by Morton, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation was to unite the opposite factions, by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV.; and the queen dowager, finding in this proposal the probable means of revenge for the murder of her brother and her three sons, gave her approbation to the project. But this conspiracy could not escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard; he immediately levied troops, and summoning Buckingham to appear at court, that nobleman replied only by taking arms in Wales. At that very time, however, there happened to fall such heavy rains, so incessant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, swelled to a height which rendered them impassable, and prevented Buckingham from marching into the heart of England to join his associates. The Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Bannister, an old servant of his family. But being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Salisbury, and was instantly executed.

The king, fortified by this unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at last to summon a parliament, in which his right to the crown was acknowledged; and his only son Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales. To gain the confidence of the Yorkists, he paid court to the queen dowager, who ventured to leave her sanctuary, and to put herself and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. But he soon carried farther his views for the estab-

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lishment of his throne. He had married Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward, prince of Wales, whom Richard himself had murdered; but this princess having borne him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poison; a crime which the usual tenor of his conduct made it reasonable to suspect. He now thought it in his power to remove the chief perils which threatened his government. The earl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the princess Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal dispensation, to espouse, himself, this princess, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen dowager, eager to recover her lost authority, neither scrupled this alliance, nor felt any horror at marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three sons and of her brother. She even joined so far her interests with those of the usurper, that she wrote to all her partisans, and among the rest, to her son the marquis of Dorset, desiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond; an injury which the earl could never afterwards forgive. The court of Rome was applied to for a dispensation; and Richard thought that he could easily defend himself during the interval till it arrived, when he had the prospect of a full and secure settlement.

But the crimes of Richard were so shocking to humanity, that every person of probity and honour was earnest to prevent the sceptre from being any longer polluted by his bloody and faithless hand. All the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond, in Brittany, who, dreading treachery, made his escape to the court of France. The ministers of Charles VIII. gave him assistance and protection; and he sailed from Harfleur, in Normandy, with a small army of about two thousand men, and landed without opposition at Milford-haven, in Wales.

But the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed, proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Except the duke of Norfolk, scarcely any nobleman was attached to his cause; but the persons of whom he entertained the greatest suspicion, were lord Stanley, and his brother, sir

William. When he employed lord Stanley to levy forces, he still retained his eldest son, lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reserve in his proceedings. He raised a powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself; and though Henry had received secret assurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour.

The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester; Henry, at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double that number. Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took care to post himself at Atherstone, not far from the hostile camps; and he made such a disposition as enabled him on occasion to join either party. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley, whose conduct in this whole affair discovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye around the field, and descrying his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands sir William Bradon, standard-bearer to the earl; he dismounted sir John Cheyney; he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who A. D.
1485 fighting bravely, to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honourable for his multiplied and detestable enormities. His men every where sought for safety by flight.

There fell in this battle about four thousand of the vanquished; and among these the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrars of Chartley, and several other persons of high rank. The loss was inconsiderable on the side of the victors. The body of Richard was found in the field covered with dead enemies, and all besmeared with blood; it was thrown carelessly across a horse, carried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators, and interred in the Grey-Friars church of that place. All historians agree, that Richard was ready to commit the most horrid crimes which appeared necessary for his purposes; and it is cer-

tain, that all his courage and capacity, qualities in which he really seems not to have been deficient, would never have made compensation to the people for the danger of the precedent, and for the contagious example of vice and murder, exalted upon the throne. This prince was of a small stature, hump-backed, and had a harsh, disagreeable countenance ; so that his body was in every particular no less deformed than his mind.

The victory at Bosworth was entirely decisive ; and the earl of Richmond was immediately saluted with acclamations of " Long live Henry the Seventh !" He accepted the title without hesitation : and asserting his claim to the throne as heir to the house of Lancaster, he determined never to allow it to be discussed. Though bound by honour as well as by interest to complete his alliance with the princess Elizabeth, yet he resolved to postpone the nuptials till after the ceremony of his coronation, lest a preceding marriage with the princess should imply a participation of sovereignty in her, and raise doubts of his own title by the house of Lancaster. In order to heighten the splendour of the coronation, he bestowed the rank of knight-banneret on twelve persons ; and he conferred peerage on three. Jasper, earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created duke of Bedford ; Thomas, lord Stanley, his father-in-law, earl of Derby ; and Edward Courtney, earl of Devonshire. At the coronation, likewise, there appeared a new institution, which the king had established for security as well as pomp, a band of fifty archers, who were termed yeomen of the guard. But lest the people should take umbrage at this unusual symptom of jealousy in the prince, as if it implied a personal diffidence of his subjects, he declared the institution to be perpetual. The parliament assembled at Westminster, and proceeded to settle the entail of the crown. No mention was made of the princess Elizabeth : it was voted, " that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king ;" and " that the succession should be secured to the heirs of his body ;" but Henry pretended not, in case of their failure, to exclude the house of York, or give the preference to that of Lancaster.

The parliament had petitioned to the king to espouse the princess Elizabeth, under the pretence of their desire to have heirs of his body ; and he now thought in earnest

Marriage of Henry the Seventh to the Princess Elizabeth.

of satisfying the minds of his people in that particular. His marriage was celebrated at London, and that with greater appearance of universal joy than either his first entry or his coronation. Henry remarked with much displeasure this general favour borne to the house of York. The suspicions which arose from it not only disturbed his tranquility during his whole reign, but bred disgust towards his consort herself, and poisoned all his domestic enjoyments. Though virtuous, amiable, and obsequious to the last degree, she never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaisance, from her husband; and the malignant ideas of faction still in his sullen mind, prevailed over all the sentiments of conjugal endearment.

The king now resolved to make a progress into the north, where the friends of the house of York, and even the partisans of Richard, were numerous, in hopes of curing by his presence and conversation the prejudices of the malcontents. When he arrived at Nottingham, he heard that viscount Lovel, with sir Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas, his brother, had secretly withdrawn themselves from their sanctuary at Colchester; but this news appeared not to him of such importance as to stop his journey; and he proceeded forward to York. He there heard that the Staffords had levied an army, and were marching to besiege the city of Worcester; and that Lovel, at the head of three or four thousand men, was approaching to attack him in York. Henry was not dismayed with this intelligence. His active courage, full of resources, immediately prompted him to find the proper remedy. Though surrounded with enemies in these disaffected counties, he assembled a small body of troops in whom he could confide; and having joined to them all his own attendants, he put them under the command of the duke of Bedford, who published a general promise of pardon to the rebels. This had a greater effect on their leader than on his followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterprise that exceeded his courage and capacity, was so terrified with the fear of desertion among his troops, that he suddenly withdrew himself, and after lurking some time in Lancashire, he made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the duchess of Burgundy. His army submitted to the king's clemency; and the other rebels, hearing of this success, raised the siege of Worcester, and dispersed them-

selves. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, near Abingdon; but being taken thence, the elder was executed at Tyburn, and the younger obtained a pardon.

Henry's joy for this success was followed, some time after, by the birth of a prince, to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous British king of that name, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived its descent. But his government had become in general unpopular; and the source of public discontent arose chiefly from his prejudices against the house of York.

There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest of a subtle and enterprising genius. This man had entertained the design of disturbing Henry's govern-
 A. D. 1486 ment, by raising a pretender to his crown; and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, the son of a baker, who was endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition. Him, Simon instructed to personate the earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, who had been confined in the tower since the commencement of this reign; and the queen dowager, finding herself fallen into absolute insignificance, and her daughter treated with severity, was suspected of countenancing the imposture.

In Ireland the scene of it first was opened. No sooner did Simnel present himself to Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman acknowledged him; the people of Dublin tendered their allegiance to him, as to the true Plantagenet; and the whole island followed the example of the capital.

Henry, perplexed by the news of this revolt, first seized the queen dowager, whom he confined in the nunnery of Bermondsey, where she ended her life in poverty and solitude. He next exposed Warwick through the streets of London; but though this measure had its effect in England, the people of Ireland retorted on the king the reproach of having shown a counterfeit personage.

Henry had soon reason to apprehend that the design against him was not laid on slight foundations. John, earl of Lincoln, son of the duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV., was engaged to take

part in the conspiracy; and having established a secret correspondence in Lancashire, he retired to Flanders, where Lovel had arrived a little before him; and he lived in the court of his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy.

That princess, the widow of Charles the Bold, after consulting with Lincoln and Lovel, hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer; and sent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. The countenance given by persons of such high rank, and the accession of this military force, much raised the courage of the Irish, and made them entertain the resolution of invading England, as well from the hopes of plunder as of revenge.

Being informed that Simnel was landed at Foudrey, in Lancashire, Henry drew together his forces, and advanced towards the enemy as far as Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes that the disaffected counties in the north would rise in their favour; but the people in general, averse to join Irish and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's imposture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation for success and conduct, either remained in tranquility, or gave assistance to the royal army. The hostile armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle, which was bloody and obstinately disputed. The king's victory was purchased with loss, but was entirely decisive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart, perished in the field of battle, with four thousand of their followers; and as Lovel was never more heard of, he was believed to have undergone the same fate.* Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken

A. D.
1489

* Doctor Mavor, in his HISTORY OF ENGLAND, gives the following probable account of the death of this distinguished nobleman, on the authority of the late Mr. Thomas Warton, who received his information, as well as could be recollected, from Dr. Dennison, a witness of what is related:—"The walls of this nobleman's once magnificent seat at Minster Lovel, Oxfordshire, of which some ruins still remain, being pulled down for the sake of the materials, early in the last century, a secret chamber was discovered with a trap-door, and in it a skeleton of a person in complete armour was found. From hence it was supposed, and on probable grounds, that this was the body of lord Lovel, who, after escaping from the battle of Stoke, took refuge in this place, and from some cause, not now to be accounted for, was left to perish in his concealment."

prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was only committed to close custody; and Simnel, being too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or resentment, was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen; whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer.

The duchess of Burgundy, full of resentment for the oppression of her family, and rather irritated than discouraged by the ill success of her past enterprise, propagated a report that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had escaped from the tower, and was still alive; and finding this rumour greedily received by the people, she sought for some young man proper to personate that unfortunate prince.

Warbeck, a renegado Jew of Tournay, who had visited London in the reign of Edward IV., had there a son born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the king, and obtaining his favour, he prevailed with that prince, whose manners were very affable, to stand godfather to his son, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemish manner, into Peterkin, or Perkin. It was by some believed that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a secret commerce with Warbeck's wife; and people thence accounted for that resemblance which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch. Some years after the birth of this child, Warbeck returned to Tournay, whence Perkin his son, by different accidents, was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortunes became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius; and he seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or assume any character. In this light he had been represented to the duchess of Burgundy, who found him to exceed her most sanguine expectations; so comely did he appear in his person, so graceful in his air, so courtly in his address, so full of docility and good sense in his behaviour and conversation. The lessons necessary to be taught him, in order to his personating the duke of York, were soon learned by a youth of such quick apprehension; and Margaret, in order the better to conceal him, sent him, under the care of lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year, unknown to all the world.

The war, which was then ready to break out between

France and England, seemed to afford a proper opportunity for this impostor to try his success; and Ireland, which still retained its attachment to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance. He landed at Cork; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partisans among that credulous people. The news soon reached France; and Charles, prompted by the secret solicitations of the duchess of Burgundy, sent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction which their sovereign thought it his interest to adopt; and Perkin, both by his deportment and personal qualities, supported the prepossession which was spread abroad of his royal pedigree. From France, the admiration and credulity diffused themselves into England: sir George Nevil, sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, came to Paris, in order to offer their services to the supposed duke of York, and to share his fortunes; and the impostor had now the appearance of a court attending him, and began to entertain hopes of final success.

When peace was concluded between France and England, Charles consented to dismiss Perkin, who retired to the duchess of Burgundy. That princess put on the appearance of distrust; and it was not till after a long and severe scrutiny, that she pretended to burst out into joy and admiration, and embraced Perkin as the true image of Edward, and the sole heir of the Plantagenets. Not the populace alone of England gave credit to Perkin's pretensions; men of the highest birth and quality turned their eyes towards the new claimant; and sir Robert Clifford and William Barley made him a tender of their services.

The king, informed of these particulars, proceeded deliberately, though steadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that catastrophe; but as only two of the persons employed by Richard, in the murder of his nephews, were now alive, and as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders, from the place where they were first interred, and could

not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to establish the fact beyond all doubt and controversy. He was, however, more successful in detecting who this wonderful person was, who thus advanced pretensions to his crown. He engaged Clifford, by the hope of rewards and pardon, to betray the secrets entrusted to him; and such was the diligence of his spies, that in the issue the whole plan of the conspiracy was clearly laid before him, with the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation, of the pretended duke of York; and this latter part of the story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation.

Several of the conspirators were immediately arrested. Some of inferior rank were rapidly arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason; but more solemnity was deemed necessary in the trial of sir William Stanley, one of the most opulent subjects in the kingdom. After six weeks' delay, which was interposed to show that the king was restrained by doubts and scruples, the prisoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and presently after beheaded. Historians, however, are not agreed as to the precise nature of the crime for which he suffered.

The fate of Stanley struck the adherents of Perkin with the greatest dismay; and as the impostor found that his pretensions were becoming obsolete, he resolved to attempt something which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partisans. Having collected a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and necessitous persons of all nations, to the number of six hundred men, he put to sea, with a resolution of making a descent in England. Information being brought him that the king had made a progress to the north, he cast anchor on the coast of Kent, and sent some of his retainers ashore, who invited the country to join him. The gentlemen of Kent assembled some troops to oppose him; but they purposed to do more essential service than by repelling the invasion; they carried the semblance of friendship to Perkin, and invited him to come himself ashore, in order to take the command over them. But the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new levied forces who had taken arms against the established authority, refused to entrust himself into their hands; and the Kentish troops, despairing of success in their stratagem, fell upon such of his retainers as were

already landed; and killing some, they took a hundred and fifty prisoners, who were tried and condemned, and executed by orders from the king.

This year a parliament was summoned in England, and another in Ireland; and some remarkable laws were passed in both countries. The English parliament passed an act, empowering the king to levy, by course of law, all the sums which any person had agreed to pay by way of *benevolence*; a statute by which that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly authorized and justified. A. D.
1495

The king's authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontrolled in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings, who had been sent over to that country, with an intention of quelling the partisans of the house of York, and of reducing the natives to subjection, summoned a parliament at Dublin, and obtained the passing of that memorable statute, which still bears his name, and which, during three centuries, established the paramount authority of the English government in Ireland. By this statute, all the former laws of England were made to be in force in Ireland; and no bill could be introduced into the Irish parliament, unless it had previously received the sanction of the council of England.*

After being repulsed from the coast of Kent, Perkin retired to Ireland; but tired of the wandering life he was compelled to lead in that country, he passed over into Scotland, where he was favourably received by James IV., who gave him in marriage the lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley. The jealousy which subsisted between England and Scotland, induced James to espouse the cause of the impostor, and to make an inroad into England; but Perkin's pretensions were now become stale, even in the eyes of the populace; and James perceiving that while Perkin remained in Scotland, he should never enjoy a solid peace with Henry, privately desired him to depart.

After quitting Scotland, Perkin concealed himself in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient, however, of a retreat which was both disagreeable and dangerous,

* By the act of union between Great Britain and Ireland, these regulations, which had long been the object of jealousy and contention, were happily rendered obsolete.

he held consultations with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Astley, three broken tradesmen ; and by their advice, he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish, whose mutinous disposition had been lately manifested, in resisting the levy of a tax imposed for the purpose of repelling the inroad of the Scots. No sooner did he appear at Bodmin, in Cornwall, than the populace, to the number of three thousand, flocked to his standard ; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard the Fourth, king of England. Not to suffer the expectations of his followers to languish, he presented himself before Exeter ; and finding that the inhabitants shut their gates against him, he laid siege to the place ; but being unprovided with artillery, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the attempt, he made no progress in his undertaking.

When Henry was informed that Perkin had landed in England, he expressed great joy at his being so near, and prepared himself with alacrity to attack him. The lords Daubeney and Broke, with sir Rice ap Thomas, hastened forward with a small body of troops to the relief of Exeter, and the king himself prepared to follow with a considerable army.

Perkin, informed of these great preparations, immediately raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. Though his followers seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the new forests. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy. Except a few persons of desperate fortunes who were executed, and some others who were severely fined, all the rest were dismissed with impunity. Lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, and was treated with a generosity which does him honour. He soothed her mind with many marks of regard, placed her in a reputable station about the queen, and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed even under his successor.

Perkin being persuaded, under promise of pardon, to deliver himself into the king's hands, was conducted, in a species of mock triumph, to London. His confession of his life and adventures was published ; but though his life was granted him, he was still detained in custody. Impatient of confinement, he broke

A. D.

1498

from his keepers, and fled to the sanctuary of Shyne. He was then imprisoned in the tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of sir John Digby, lieutenant of the tower; and, by their means, opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison. This unfortunate prince, who had, from his earliest youth, been shut up from the commerce of men, and who was ignorant even of the most common affairs of life, had fallen into a fatuity, which made him susceptible of any impression. The continued dread also of the more violent effects of Henry's tyranny, joined to the natural love of liberty, engaged him to embrace a project for his escape, by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterprise. The conspiracy escaped not the king's vigilance. Perkin, by this new attempt, had rendered himself totally unworthy of mercy; and he was accordingly arraigned, condemned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn, acknowledging his imposture to the last.

It happened about that very time that one Wilford, a cordwainer's son, encouraged by the surprising credit given to other impostures, had undertaken to personate the earl of Warwick; and a priest had even ventured from the pulpit to recommend his cause to the people. This incident served Henry as a pretence for his severity towards that prince. He was brought to trial, and accused of forming designs to disturb the government, and raise an insurrection among the people. Warwick confessed the indictment, was condemned, and the sentence was executed upon him. This act of tyranny, the capital blemish of Henry's reign, occasioned great discontent; and though he endeavoured to alleviate the odium of his guilt, by sharing it with his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he said, had scrupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to Arthur, while any male descendant of the house of York remained;—this only increased the indignation of the people, at seeing a young prince sacrificed to the jealous politics of two subtle tyrants.

There was a remarkable similarity of character between these two monarchs: both were full of craft, intrigue, and design; and though a resemblance of this nature be a slender foundation for confidence and amity, such was the

situation of Henry and Ferdinand, that no jealousy ever arose between them. The king completed a marriage, which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years, between Arthur prince of Wales, and the infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; but this marriage proved in the issue unprosperous. The young prince a few months after sickened and died, much regretted by the nation. Henry, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his second son Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta, by virtue of a dispensation from the pope. This marriage was, in the event, attended with the most important consequences. In the same year, another marriage was celebrated, which was also in the next age productive of great events; the marriage of Margaret, the king's eldest daughter, with James, king of Scotland. Amidst these prosperous incidents the queen died in child-bed; and the infant did not long survive her. This princess was deservedly a favourite of the nation; and the general affection for her was augmented by the harsh treatment which it was thought she experienced from her consort.

Uncontrolled by apprehension or opposition of any kind, Henry now gave full scope to his natural propensity; and his avarice, which had ever been the ^{A. D.} ruling passion of his mind, broke through all re- 1503 straints. He had found two ministers, Empsom and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers. By their knowledge in law these men were qualified to pervert the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the king supported them in all their iniquities. In vain did the people look for protection from the parliament; that assembly was so overawed, that during the greatest rage of Henry's oppression, the commons chose Dudley their speaker, and granted him the subsidies which he demanded. By the arts of accumulation, this monarch so filled his coffers, that he is said to have possessed at one time the sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds; a treasure almost incredible, if we consider the scarcity of money in those times.

The decline of his health induced the king to turn his thoughts towards that future existence, which the iniquities and severities of his reign rendered a very dismal prospect to him. To allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by distributing alms, and founding religious houses, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchase by the sacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treasures, a reconciliation with his offended Maker. Remorse even seized him, at intervals, for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley; but not sufficiently to make him stop the rapacious hand of those oppressors. However, death, by its nearer approaches, impressed new terrors upon him; and he then ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption, at his
 A. D. 1509 favourite palace of Richmond, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-second year of his age.

The reign of Henry the Seventh was, on the whole, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. He loved peace without fearing war; and this acquired him the regard and consideration of foreign princes. His capacity was excellent, though somewhat contracted by the narrowness of his heart. Avarice was his ruling passion; and to gratify it, he sacrificed every honourable principle.

This prince, though he exalted his prerogative above law, is celebrated for many good laws which he established for the government of his subjects; but the most important law in its consequences which was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the ancient entails, and of alienating their estates. By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinement of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the property of the commons increased in England. It is probable that Henry foresaw and intended this consequence; because the constant scheme of his policy consisted in depressing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who would be more obsequious.

It was during this reign, that Christopher Columbus discovered America; and Vasquez de Gama passed the

Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies. It was by accident only that Henry had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries. However, he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol; and sent him westward, in 1498, in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America, towards the sixtieth degree of northern latitude, Newfoundland, and many other countries; but returned to England without making any conquest or settlement. Elliot, and other merchants in Bristol, made a like attempt in 1502. The king expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the "Great Harry;" which was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. In 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks, among whom some remains of learning were still preserved, being scattered by these barbarians, took shelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their science, and of their refined taste in poetry and eloquence. About the same time, the purity of the Latin was revived; and the art of printing, invented about that time, extremely facilitated the progress of all these improvements. The invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war; and mighty innovations were soon after made in religion. Thus a general revolution was produced in human affairs throughout this part of the world; and men gradually entered on that career of commerce, arts, science, government, and police, in which, with the exception of some pauses, they have ever since been persevering.

CHAP. X.

The Reign of Henry VIII.

THE accession of Henry the Eighth spread universal joy and satisfaction. Instead of a monarch jealous, severe, and avaricious, a young prince of eighteen had succeeded to the throne, who, even in the eyes of men of sense, gave promising hopes of his future conduct, much more in those of the people, always enchanted with novelty, youth, and royal dignity. Hitherto he had been occupied entirely in manly exercises and the pursuits of literature; and the proficiency which he made in each, gave no bad prognostic of his parts and capacity.

A. D.
1509

Even the vices of vehemence, ardour, and impatience, to which he was subject, and which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were considered only as faults of unguarded youth, which would be corrected by time.

The chief competitors for favour were the earl of Surrey and Fox bishop of Winchester. The former was a dexterous courtier, and promoted that taste for pleasure and magnificence, which began to prevail under the young monarch. The vast treasures amassed by the late king, were gradually dissipated in the giddy expenses of Henry; or if he intermitted the course of his festivity, he chiefly employed himself in application to music and literature, which were his favourite pursuits, and which were well adapted to his genius. And though he was so unfortunate as to be seduced into a study of the barren controversies of the schools, which were then fashionable, and had chosen Thomas Aquinas for his favourite author, he still discovered a capacity for more useful and interesting acquirements.

Empson and Dudley were sent to the tower, and soon after brought to trial; and their execution was less an act of justice, than for the purpose of gratifying the people. Henry, however, while he punished the instruments of past tyranny, paid such deference to former engagements, as to celebrate his marriage with the infantâ Catherine, though her former marriage with his brother was urged by the primate as an important objection.

At this time, when the situation of the several powerful states of Europe promised, by balancing each other, a long tranquillity, the flames of war were kindled by Julius II. an ambitious and enterprising pontiff, who determined to expel all foreigners from Italy, and drew over Ferdinand to his party. He solicited the favour of England, by sending Henry a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism; and he also gave him hopes, that the title of "Most Christian King," which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, should in reward of his services be transferred to that of England. Impatient also of acquiring distinction in Europe, Henry joined the alliance, which the pope, in conjunction with Spain and Venice, had formed against the French monarch.

Henry's intended invasion of France roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation. The ancient league, which sub-

sisted between France and Scotland, was conceived to be the strongest band of connexion; and the Scots universally believed, that were it not for the countenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able so long to maintain their independence against a people so much superior. James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel by the invitations of Anne queen of France, whose knight he had ever in all tournaments professed himself, and who summoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry, prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence, and to prove himself her true and valorous champion. He first sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of France, the only fleet which Scotland seems ever to have possessed; and though he still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, the English ambassador easily foresaw, that a war would in the end prove inevitable, and gave warning of the danger to his master.

Henry, ardent for military fame, was little discouraged by this appearance of a diversion from the north. He had now got a minister who flattered him in every scheme to which his impetuous temper inclined. Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king, surpassed in favour all his ministers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was son of a butcher at Ipswich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon gained the favour and countenance of his patron. He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII.; and being employed by that monarch in a secret negotiation, he acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction, and was considered at court as a rising man. The death of Henry retarded his advancement; but Fox bishop of Winchester cast his eye upon him, as one who might be serviceable to him in his present situation. This prelate, observing that the earl of Surrey had totally eclipsed him in favour, resolved to introduce Wolsey to the young prince's familiarity, and hoped that he might rival Surrey in his insinuating arts, and yet be content to act in the cabinet a part subordinate to Fox himself, who had promoted him. In a little time Wolsey gained so much on the king, that he supplanted both Surrey in his favour, and Fox in his trust and confi-

dence. Being admitted to Henry's parties of pleasure, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any restraint upon him, or engaged him to check, by any useless severity, the gayety in which Henry passed his careless hours.

The king soon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his pleasures, to be a member of his council; and from being a member of his council, to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority, the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display themselves. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding; haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of nature with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recall the original inferiority of his condition.

A considerable force having sailed over to Calais, Henry prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his absence. He was accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, and many others of the nobility; but of the allies, on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone performed their engagements, and invaded France. The emperor Maximilian, instead of reinforcing the Swiss with eight thousand men, as he had promised, joined the English army with a few German and Flemish soldiers; and observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he enlisted himself into his service, and received one hundred crowns a day, as one of his subjects and captains, though, in reality, he directed all the operations of the English army.

Terouane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy, was reduced to the last extremity from want of provisions

and ammunition, when eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon, made a sudden irruption into the English camp, deposited their burden in the town, and again broke through the English without suffering any loss in this dangerous enterprise. But the English had, soon after, full revenge for the insult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, who had advanced to protect another incursion of Fontrailles ; and he ordered some troops to pass the Lis, for the purpose of opposing him. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on sight of the enemy, seized with so unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, and many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners. This action, or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought ; but more commonly the "battle of spurs," because the French, that day, made more use of their spurs than of their swords or military weapons.

After the capture of Terouane and Tournay, the king returned to England, and carried with him the greater part of his army. Success had attended him in every enterprise ; but all men of judgment were convinced that this campaign was, in reality, both ruinous and inglorious to him.

The success which attended Henry's arms in the north, was much more decisive. The king of Scotland had assembled the whole force of his kingdom ; and after passing the Tweed with an army of fifty thousand men, he ravaged the parts of Northumberland nearest to that river, and employed himself in taking several castles of small importance. The earl of Surrey, having collected a force of twenty-six thousand men, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scots, who had encamped on some high ground near the hills of Cheviot. Surrey feigned a march towards Berwick ; and the Scottish army having descended the hill, an engagement became inevitable. A furious action commenced, and was continued till night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on

each side were nearly equal, amounting to above five thousand men; but the morning discovered where the advantage lay. The English had lost only persons of small note; but the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent inquiry, could no where be found.

The king of Scotland, and most of his chief nobles, being slain in the field of Fouden, an inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of reducing that kingdom to subjection; but he discovered on this occasion a mind truly great and generous. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son, applied for peace, he readily granted it; and compassionated the helpless condition of his sister and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him so great a victory, was restored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father for engaging on the side of Richard the Third; and Wolsey, who was both his favourite and his minister, was created bishop of Lincoln.

Peace with Scotland enabled Henry to prosecute his enterprise against France, yet several incidents opened his eyes to the rashness of the undertaking; A. D.
and the duke of Longueville, who had been made 1514
prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, was ready to take advantage of this disposition. He represented, that as Lewis was a widower without male children, no marriage could be more suitable to him than that with the princess Mary, the sister of Henry. The king seemed to hearken to this discourse with willing ears; and Longueville received full powers from his master for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs.

The espousals of Mary and Lewis were soon after celebrated at Abbeville; but the monarch was seduced into a course of gayety and pleasure, very unsuitable to the declining state of his health, and died in less than three months after the marriage. He was suc- A. D.
ceeded by Francis, duke of Angouleme, who had 1515
married the eldest daughter of Lewis.

The numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation and haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence. He preferred him to the archbishopric of York, and allowed him to unite with it the sees of Durham and of Winchester; while

the pope, observing his great influence over the king, and desirous of engaging him in his interests, created him a cardinal. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science, paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public institutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition. Not content, however, with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, and the richness of his apparel.

Warham, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, and averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employment, than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office of chancellor; and the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during the time he filled this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity.

The title of legate, which was afterwards conferred on Wolsey, brought with it a great accession of power and dignity. He erected an office, which he called the legatine court, and on which he conferred a kind of inquisitorial and censorial power, even over the laity; and directed it to inquire into all actions, which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. The abuse, however, of this court, at length reached the king's ears; and he expressed such displeasure at the cardinal, as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

While Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, intrusted the government of his kingdom to
A. D. this imperious minister, an incident happened
1519 abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian, the emperor, died; a man who, of himself, was indeed of little consequence; but as his death left vacant the first

station among christian princes, it set the passions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of era in the general system of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown, and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promised them success in so great a point of ambition. Henry also was encouraged to advance his pretensions ; but his minister, Pace, who was despatched to the electors, found that he began to canvass too late.

Francis and Charles professed from the beginning to carry on this rivalry without enmity ; but all men perceived that this moderation would not be of long duration ; and when Charles at length prevailed, the French monarch could not suppress his indignation at being disappointed in so important a pretension. Both of them were princes endowed with talents and abilities ; brave, aspiring, active, warlike ; beloved by their servants and subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world : Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent ; carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs : Charles, political, close, artful, frugal ; better qualified to obtain success in wars and in negotiations, especially the latter. The one the more amiable man ; the other the greater monarch. Charles reaped the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands ; he inherited the conquest of Naples, of Grenada ; election entitled him to the empire ; even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire, greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and interposed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him.

Henry possessed the facility of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers ; but he was heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, and impolitic. Francis, well acquainted with his character, solicited an interview near Calais, in hopes of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey ear-

nestly seconded this proposal; and, as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, he cheerfully adjusted the preliminaries of the interview. The two monarchs met in a field within the English pale, between Guisnes and Andres; and such was their profusion of expense, as procured to the place the name of *the Field of the Cloth of Gold*.

A. D.
1520

A defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities of Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt and tournament. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback; Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those dangerous pastimes. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter whenever they deemed it expedient.

Henry afterwards paid a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines; and the artful Charles effaced all the friendship to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. He secured Wolsey in his interests, by assuring him of his assistance in obtaining the papacy, and by putting him in immediate possession of the revenues belonging to the sees of Badajoz and Placentia.

The violent emulation between the emperor and the French king, soon broke out in hostilities. Henry, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace, under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprized of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable, as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. On Francis rejecting the terms proposed, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey, soon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with

the pope and the emperor, the result of the private views and ambitious projects of the cardinal.

An event of the greatest importance engrossed at this time the attention of all Europe. Leo X., by his generous and enterprising temper, having exhausted his treasury, in order to support his liberalities, had recourse to the sale of indulgences. The produce of this revenue, particularly that which arose from Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was farmed out to a merchant of Genoa. The scandal of this transaction, with the licentious lives which the collectors are reported to have led, roused Martin Luther, a professor of the university of Wittemberg, who not only preached against these abuses in the sale of indulgences, but even decried indulgences themselves, and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope. Finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing and discourse; and in a short time, all Europe was filled with the voice of this daring innovator.

As there subsisted in England great remains of the Lollards, the doctrines of Luther secretly gained many partisans; but Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and therefore opposed the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him. He even wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther; a performance which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard; and conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith;" an appellation still retained by the kings of England.

Henry having declared war against France, Surrey landed some troops at Cherbourg, in Normandy; and after laying waste the country, he sailed to A. D. 1522. Morlaix, a rich town in Brittany, which he took and plundered. The war with France, however, proceeded slowly for want of money. Henry had caused a general survey to be made of his kingdom, and had issued his privy seal to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums; he soon after published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy,

and two upon the laity. The parliament, which was summoned about this time, was far from complaining of these illegal transactions; but the commons, more tenacious of their money than their national privileges, refused a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a sum computed to be equal to four shillings in the pound of one year's revenue; and they only voted an imposition of three shillings in the pound of all possessed of fifty pounds a year and upwards, of two shillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a year and upwards, one shilling on all who possessed between twenty pounds and forty shillings a year, and on the other subjects above sixteen years of age, a groat a head. The king was dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the commons; and on pretence of necessity, he levied in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years. These irregularities were commonly ascribed to Wolsey's counsels, who, trusting to the protection afforded him by his ecclesiastical character, was less scrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

A new treaty was concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France; but the duke of Bourbon, to whom Charles confided a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny, was obliged, after an ineffectual attempt on Marseilles, to lead his forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy. Francis might now have enjoyed, in safety, the glory of repulsing all his enemies; but, ardent for the conquest of Milan, he passed the Alps, and laid siege to Pavia, a town of considerable strength, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important place proved fruitless. Fatigue and unfavourable weather had wasted the French army, when the imperial army, commanded by Pescara, Lannoy, and Bourbon, advanced to raise the siege. The imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for several days, at last made a general assault, and broke into the entrenchments. Francis's forces were put to the rout, and himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing seven men with his own hand, was obliged at last to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole

army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy.

Henry was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him assistance in his present calamities; and, as the glory of generosity in raising a fallen enemy concurred with his political interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures. He concluded an alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions. Charles, dreading a general combination against him, was at length prevailed on to sign the treaty of Madrid. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy.

The more to cement the union between Henry and Francis, a new treaty was some time after concluded at London; in which the former agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for disturbing the tranquility of the two nations. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. Thus, the terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became the object of jealousy to the English.

The marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not passed without much scruple and difficulty; the prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and with some doubts that naturally arose in Henry's mind, there concurred other causes, which tended much to increase his remorse. The queen was older than the king by no less than six years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and de-

portment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaic law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession, too, of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. Thus the king was impelled, both by his private passions, and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious, and, as it was esteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen, and had acquired an entire ascendant over Henry's affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. Henry's scruples or aversion had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he still supported an intercourse of civility and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the frequent visits which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accomplishment of her mind no wise inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the design of raising her to the throne; and as every motive of inclination and policy seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, he resolved to make application to pope Clement, and sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose. Clement was then

A. D.
1528 a prisoner in the hands of the emperor; and when the English secretly solicited him in private, he received a very favourable answer. After Clement had recovered his liberty, he granted a commission, to try the validity of the king's marriage, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined with Wolsey; but in conformity with the pope's views and intentions, the former deferred the decision by the most artful delays. At length, the

business seemed to be drawing near to a period : and the king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favour, when the menaces and promises of Charles proved successful ; and Clement suspended the commission of the legates, and adjourned the cause to his own personal judgment at Rome.

Wolsey had long foreseen the failure of this measure as the sure forerunner of his ruin. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent to require from him the great seal, which was delivered by the king to sir Thomas More. All his furniture and plate were seized ; and the cardinal was ordered to retire to Esher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton court.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, a man remarkable for his learning, and still more for the candour and disinterestedness of his temper, falling one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner, the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation. Cranmer observed, that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience, or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point. When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it, and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe. The universities of France, of Venice, Ferrara, Padua, and Bologna, with those of Oxford and Cambridge, A. D.
1530 gave their opinion in the king's favour ; and the convocations both of Canterbury and York pronounced Henry's marriage invalid. But Clement, who was still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king to appear, either by himself or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome.

After Wolsey had remained some time at Esher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond ; but the courtiers, dreading still his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of York. The cardinal, therefore, took up his residence at Cawood in Yorkshire ; but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to

take his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery, and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester-abbey, where he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired, among other expressions, he used the following words to sir William Kingston, constable of the tower, who had him in custody: "Had I but served God as diligently as I have served my king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs." Thus died this famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed.

A new session of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and from the latter a confession was
 A. D. 1531 extorted, that "the king was the protector, and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England." In the next session, an act was passed against levying the annates or first-fruits; and it was also voted, that any censures which should be passed by the court of Rome, on account of that law, should be entirely disregarded.

Having proceeded too far to recede, Henry privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom
 A. D. 1533 he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event gave great satisfaction to the king. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony and divorces; and Henry, finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage, and informed Catherine that she was hereafter to be treated only as princess-dowager of Wales.

The parliament enacted laws which were totally subversive of the papal authority in England. But the most important law passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown. The marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect; and the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing them, to the king's heirs forever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and

sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note who scrupled the oath of succession: and the king ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the tower.

The parliament being again assembled, conferred on the king the title of the only supreme head on earth of the church of England: and in this memorable act ^{A. D.} 1534 they acknowledged his inherent power "to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend, all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction." They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason; and they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefits of the English laws.

Though Henry had rejected the authority of the see of Rome, yet the idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to that prince; and for more reasons than one, he was indisposed to encourage the opinions of the reformers. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and sword the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

Henry's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers. Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the protestant tenets: and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity; virtues which he possessed in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with faction and oppressed by

tyranny, could easily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him one of its principal supporters.

In the mean time, the king, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtship paid him both by protestants and catholics, to assume an unbounded authority. The ambiguity of his conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects. The books composed by the Lutherans were secretly imported into England, and made converts every where; but a translation of the Scriptures by Tindal, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp, was justly deemed one of the most fatal blows to the established faith.

Though Henry neglected not to punish those who adhered to the protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, yet he knew that his most formidable enemies were the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Some of these were detected in a conspiracy; and the detection instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exercised punishments on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour to deprive the king of his dignity or titles; they had lately added to his other titles that of supreme head of the church; it was inferred that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. Impelled by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, Henry proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his tyranny.

When the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, Paul III., who had succeeded Clement VII. in the papal throne, excommunicated the king and his adhe-

rents, deprived him of his crown, and gave his kingdom to any invader; but he delayed the publication of this sentence till the emperor, who was at that ^{A. D.} 1536 time had pressed by the Turks and the protestant princes in Germany, should be in a condition to carry it into execution. However, an incident happened, which seemed to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, of a lingering illness, in the fiftieth year of her age. She wrote a very tender letter to the king, a little before she expired, in which she gave him the appellation of her most dear lord, king, and husband; and she concluded with these words: "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things." The king was touched, even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy from the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit.

The emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of a personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France; but Henry was rendered indifferent to the advances made by the emperor, both by his experience of the duplicity and insincerity of that monarch, and the ill success that he met with in his invasion of Provence.

Henry, conscious of the advantages of his situation, determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues, and for that purpose he delegated his supremacy to Cromwell, who was then secretary of state, and who employed commissioners to inquire into the conduct and deportment of the friars. If we may credit the reports of the commissioners, monstrous disorders were found in many of the religious houses. Henry had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions, which had long been the objects of the most profound veneration. An act was, therefore, passed, by which three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were

granted to the king, together with their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more. It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law : so absolute was Henry's authority !

But while the supporters of the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification in the fate of their patroness Anne Boleyn, who lost her life by the rage of her furious husband. She had been delivered of a dead son ; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue was thereby disappointed. The king's love was transferred to Jane, daughter of sir John Seymour ; and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of his new appetite. In a tilting at Greenwich, the queen happened to drop her handkerchief, an accident probably casual, but interpreted by the king as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours. He immediately arrested several persons, in the number of whom was lord Rocheford, the queen's brother ; and next day he ordered the queen to be carried to the tower. The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers ; and the chief evidence adduced against them was, that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed, before some company. Unassisted by counsel, the queen defended herself with great judgment and presence of mind ; and the spectators pronounced her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given against both her and Rocheford ; and when the dreadful sentence was pronounced, lifting up her hands to heaven, she exclaimed, " O Father, O Creator, thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate." After being beheaded, her body was thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the tower. The innocence of Anne Boleyn cannot be reasonably called in question ; and the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the day after the execution. The parliament had the meanness to declare the issue of both his former marriages illegitimate ; and the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife ; and in case he should die without issue, he was empowered by his will to dispose of the crown.

A convocation which sat at the same time with the parliament, determined the standard of faith to consist in the Scriptures, and the three creeds, the Apostolic, Nicene,

and Athanasian ; auricular confession, and penance, were admitted ; but no mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments ; and in this omission the influence of the protestants appeared. The real presence, however, was asserted, conformably to the ancient doctrine ; while the terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitable to the new principles. These articles of belief were formed by the convocation, corrected by the king, and subscribed by every member of that society ; whilst not one, except Henry, adopted these doctrines and opinions. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the pity and compassion of men ; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives, suited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favour. The first rising was in Lincolnshire, and amounted to about twenty thousand men ; but the duke of Suffolk appearing at the head of some forces, with secret assurances of pardon, the populace was dispersed, and a few of their leaders suffered. The northern rebels were more numerous and more formidable than those of Lincolnshire. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprise they called the *pilgrimage of grace* ; they took an oath that their only motive proceeded from their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. The duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the rebels. Aske, with many other chiefs, was put to death ; and an amnesty was granted to the people.

Not long after this prosperous issue, Henry's joy was crowned by the birth of a son, who was baptized by the name of Edward ; yet his happiness was not without alloy, for in two days after the queen died. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester ; sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, was raised to the dignity of earl of Hertford ; sir William Fitzwilliams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton ; sir William Paulet, lord St. John ; sir John Russel, lord Russel.

Henry's rapacity, the consequence of his profusion, produced the most entire destruction of the monasteries; a new visitation of them was appointed; and the abbots and monks were induced, in hopes of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds. Great murmurs were every where excited, on account of these violent measures; but Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures; he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. The court of Rome saw this sacrilegious plunder with extreme indignation; and Henry was frequently reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian.

The king was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have delayed his opposition against Rome, but some new objects of animosity. Though he had gradually been changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, yet he was no less dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had been entire and unshaken. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy happened to be the real presence; and every departure from this principle, he held to be heretical and detestable.

Lambert, a schoolmaster in London, drew up objections against the corporeal presence; and when cited by Cranmer and Latimer, instead of recanting, he ventured to appeal to the king. Henry, not displeased with an opportunity of exerting his supremacy, and displaying his learning, accepted the appeal. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the lists with the schoolmaster; scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience; and Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty, and with the prelates and temporal peers on each side of him. The bishop of Chichester opened the conference; and the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar. He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments drawn from scripture and the schoolmen. The audience

applauded the force of his reasoning and the extent of his erudition; Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics; Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer; Tonsal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonsal; six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley; and the disputation, if it deserves the name, was proclaimed for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king then proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, whether he were resolved to live or to die? Lambert replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency; the king told him, that he would be no protector of heretics; and, therefore, if that were his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicegerent, pronounced the sentence against him. Lambert's executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible; he was burned at a slow fire; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *none but Christ, none but Christ*; and with these words he expired.

Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, Henry began to think of a new marriage; and Cromwell proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes. The marriage was at length concluded; and Anne was sent over to England. The king, however, found her utterly destitute both of beauty and grace; ^{A. D.} 1540 swore that she was a great Flanders mare, and declared that he never could possibly bear her any affection. His aversion to the queen secretly increased every day; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwell was hastened by other causes. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion; the protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour;

and the king, who found that great clamour had on all hands arisen against the government, was not displeased to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred, hoping by so easy a sacrifice to regain the affections of his subjects. Another more powerful cause, however, brought about an unexpected revolution in the ministry. The king had fixed his affections on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and, being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no other expedient than a divorce from his present consort, to raise Catharine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been in enmity with the minister, obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwell at the council table, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination or evidence, to condemn to death, on the most frivolous pretences, a man whom, a few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The house of commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. When brought to the place of execution, Cromwell avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry would resent on his son those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, yet he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and he was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one; a circumstance that reflects the highest lustre on his character.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves, were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. Anne had formerly been contracted, by her father, to the duke of Lorraine; and Henry pleaded this pre-contract as a ground of divorce. The convocation was satisfied with this reason, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen; the parliament ratified the decision of the clergy; and Anne, blessed with a happy insensibility of temper, accepted of a

Richard III.

Henry VII.

Henry VIII.

Edward VI.

Mary.

settlement of three thousand pounds a year, and gave her consent to the divorce.

An alliance contracted by Henry with the emperor, and his marriage with Catharine Howard, which followed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, were regarded as favourable incidents to the catholics; and the subsequent events corresponded to their expectations. A fierce persecution commenced against the protestants; but whilst the king exerted his violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics, who denied his supremacy; and hence it was said by a foreigner in England, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged.

Henry had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: the agreeable person and disposition of Catharine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: one Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him that Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the old duchess of Norfolk, had been admitted to her bed. Three maids of the family were admitted into her secrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. The queen being questioned, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full discovery was made, she confessed that she had been criminal before marriage; and only insisted, that she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage; and as it appeared that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her service, she seemed to deserve little credit in this asseveration; and the king, besides, was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

Henry convoked a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny; and the two houses, having received the queen's confession, voted a bill of attainder for treason against the queen, and the viscountess Rocheford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were also comprehended. At the same time, they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old duchess of Norfolk, Catharine's grandmother; her uncle, lord William Howard, and his lady,

together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more ; because they knew the queen's vicious course of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. Henry himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of this proceeding ; for he pardoned the duchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprision of treason. However, to secure himself for the future, as well as his successors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to pass a law, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this singular enactment, and said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow ; for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute. After this, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life ; and as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her untimely end, she died unpitied.

James, king of the Scots, having incurred the resentment of Henry, a manifesto soon paved the way to hostilities ; and the duke of Norfolk, at the head of twenty thousand men, passed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelso ; but on the approach of James, with thirty thousand men, the English repassed the river, and retreated into their own country. The king of Scots, inflamed with a desire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into England ; but his nobility, who were in general disaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him in his projected enterprise. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance ; but he sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway Frith ; and he himself followed them at a small distance. This army, however, was ready to disband, when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding five hundred men, under the command of Dacres and Musgrave. A panic seized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout, but a great many were taken

prisoners, and some of the principal nobility, who were all sent to London. James, being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as endued with a high spirit, lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living, and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked, whether she had brought him a male or a female child. Being told the latter, he turned himself in his bed: "the crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will go with one; many miseries await this poor kingdom; Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms or by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age.

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Henry was no sooner informed of his victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the heiress of that kingdom. The Scottish nobles, who were his prisoners, readily assented to the proposal; and after delivering hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials should not be completed, they were all allowed to return to Scotland. A negotiation was commenced with sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales; and equitable conditions were quickly agreed on; but Beaton, the cardinal primate, who acted as minister to James, was able, by his intrigues, to confound this measure. He represented the union with England as the certain ruin of the ancient religion; and as soon as he found a war with that kingdom unavoidable, he immediately applied to France for assistance during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. The influence of the French in Scotland excited the resentment of Henry, who formed a close league with the emperor; and war was declared against Francis by the allies.

In order to obtain supplies for this projected war with France, Henry summoned a new session of parliament, which granted him a subsidy. About the same time, the

A. D. king married Catharine Par, widow of Nevil, lord
1543 Latimer, a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the reformed doctrines. On the other hand, the king's league with the emperor seemed a circumstance no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions.

While the winter season restrained Henry from military operations, he summoned a new parliament, which, after declaring the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, first heirs to the crown, restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession. Such, however, was the caprice of the king, that while he opened the way for these princesses to ascend the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed which declared them illegitimate!

Henry sent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The troops were disembarked near Leith; and, after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh, the gates of which were soon beaten down; and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. The earl of Arran, who was regent, and Beaton the cardinal, were not prepared to oppose so great a force; and they fled to Stirling. The English marched eastward, laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, and then retreated into England.

This incursion inflamed, without subduing the spirit of the Scots; but Henry recalled his troops, in consequence of his treaty with the emperor, by which those two princes had agreed to invade France with above one hundred thousand men. The city of Boulogne was treacherously surrendered to Henry; but the emperor, after taking several places, concluded a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of England; and Henry, finding himself obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign served to the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of sense concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterprises, obtained, at a great expense, an unimportant acquisition.

The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various success; and the war with
A. D. France was not distinguished by any memorable
1545 event. The great expense of these two wars main-

tained by Henry, obliged him to summon a new parliament. The commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land; the spirituality voted him six shillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property. By one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels, and hospitals. Henry was pleased with this concession, as it increased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile parliament.

Henry employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and he sent over the earl of Hertford and lord Lisle, the admiral, to Calais, A. D. 1546 with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of small moment ensued with the French; but as no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party, both came to an accommodation. Commissioners met at Campe, a small place between Ardres and Guisnes; and it was agreed, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be paid. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of five hundred thousand livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war which cost him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt which was not a third of the value.

The king had now leisure to attend to domestic affairs. He was prevailed on to permit the litany to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and Cranmer, taking advantage of Gardiner's absence on an embassy to the emperor, attempted to draw him into farther innovations; but Gardiner wrote to Henry, and retarded for some time the projects of Cranmer. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to

him, that if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry, seeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct. Every body now considered the primate as lost; and when admitted into the council-chamber, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came before the king, he reproved them in the severest terms; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy.

But though Henry's partial favour for Cranmer rendered fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining state of health, induced him to punish with severity every other person who differed from him in opinion. Ann Ascue, a young lady of merit as well as beauty, who was connected with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatizing on the real presence; and, after being subjected to the torture in the most barbarous manner, she was sentenced to be burned alive, with four others condemned for the same crime. When they were all tied to the stake, they refused the pardon that was offered on condition of recantation; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames that were to consume them.

Though the secrecy and fidelity of Ann Ascue saved the queen from this peril, yet that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which she narrowly escaped. Henry's favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catharine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and, being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel; and the king, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his bigoted counsellors, went

so far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. By some means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. Sensible of the extreme danger to which she was exposed, she paid her usual visit to the king, who entered on the subject most familiar to him, and who seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation, and remarked, that such profound speculations were ill-suited to the natural imbecility of her sex. Woman, she said, by their creation, were made subject to men. It belonged to the husband to choose principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband; and as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blest with a husband who was qualified by his judgment and learning to choose principles not only for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every nation. "Not so, by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive instructions." She meekly replied, that she was sensible how little she was entitled to these praises; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish, when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also purposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him on topics whence she had observed, by frequent experience, that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king; "then we are perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness.

The reputation which the duke of Norfolk had acquired in war, his high rank, and his influence as the head of the catholic party, rendered that nobleman obnoxious to Henry, who foresaw danger, during his son's minority, from the attempts of so potent a subject. His son, the earl of Surrey, had distinguished himself by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier: but having declined the hand of the daughter of the earl

of Hertford, and even waived every other proposal of marriage, Henry imagined that he entertained the design of espousing the lady Mary. Actuated by those suspicions, the king gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey, who, on the same day, were confined in the tower. Surrey was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians, who were suspected to be spies, of corresponding with cardinal Pole, and of quartering on his escutcheon the arms of Edward the Confessor, a practice which had been justified by the authority of the heralds. Notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, a venal jury condemned him for high treason; and their sentence was soon after executed upon him. The innocence of Norfolk was, if possible, still more apparent than that of his son; yet the house of peers, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. The king was now approaching fast towards his end, and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons to expedite the bill. The obsequious commons obeyed his directions; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the tower that the king himself had expired the preceding night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought advisable by the council to begin a new reign with the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

The king's health had long been in a declining state; but for several days, all those near him plainly saw his end approaching, yet no one durst inform him of his condition. At last sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the event. He expressed his resignation, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but before the prelate arrived he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The king had made his will near a month before his demise, in which he confirmed the destination of parliament;

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by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth. The two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son.

A catalogue of this prince's vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incidental to human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, and presumption; yet, he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable, at least, of a temporary friendship and attachment. Notwithstanding his cruelty and extortion, he seems to have possessed to the last, in some degree, the love and affection of his people. Indeed, his exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude; and his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes.

CHAP. XI.

The Reigns of Edward VI., and Mary.

EDWARD, at his accession, was little more than nine years of age; and as his majority was fixed at the completion of his eighteenth year, his father had appointed sixteen executors, to whom, during the minority, he intrusted the government of the kingdom. Among these were Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesley, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russel, privy-seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonsal, bishop of Durham; with other officers of state, and two or three private persons. To these executors, with whom was intrusted the regal authority, were associated twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid before them.

No sooner were the executors and counsellors met, than it was suggested that the government would lose its dignity, for want of some head to represent the royal majesty. Though this was a departure from the late king's will, yet the measure was carried; and the choice fell of course on the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle. In their next measure, they showed a great deference to Henry's intentions. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, mareschal and lord treasurer; Wriothesley, earl of South-

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ampten; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; and sir Richard Rich, sir William Willoughby, and sir Edward Sheffield, were raised to the dignity of barons.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and the latter taking advantage of some illegal proceedings of which the former was guilty, the council declared that Southampton had forfeited the great seal, that a fine should be imposed upon him, and that he should be confined to his own house during pleasure. The removal of Southampton, however, did not satisfy the ambition of Somerset. He procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overturned the will of Henry VIII., and produced a total revolution in the government. He named himself protector, with full regal power, and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton, reserving a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure, and of consulting with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture whatsoever.

Somerset had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformers; and he took care that all persons intrusted with the king's education should be attached to the same principles. In his schemes for advancing the reformation, he had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes. A visitation was made of all the dioceses in England, by a mixture of clergy and laity; and the chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The person that opposed, with greatest authority, these advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Worcester, who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late disgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. He represented the perils of

perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. For this freedom he was sent to the Fleet-prison, and treated with some severity.

In Scotland, one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, and celebrated for the purity of his morals, and his extensive learning, employed himself with great success in preaching against the ancient superstitions. Beaton, the cardinal primate, resolving to strike terror into all other innovators, by the punishment of so distinguished a preacher, caused him to be arrested. The unhappy man was condemned to the flames for heresy, and suffered with the usual patience. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal, who was assassinated soon after the death of Wishart. The assassins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of a hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves for the defence of the cardinal's palace, and craved the assistance of Henry, who promised to take them under his protection.

To fulfil this promise, and to execute the project which the late king had recommended with his dying breath, the protector levied an army of eighteen thousand men, with which he invaded Scotland. The Scottish army, double in number to that of the English, posted themselves on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eske, about four miles from Edinburgh. Having reconnoitered their camp, Somerset found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of success. He wrote, therefore, to Arran, the governor of Scotland, and offered to evacuate the kingdom, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she reached the age of choosing a husband for herself. The Scots rejected the demand, and quitting their camp, advanced into the plain, with the hope of cutting off the retreat of the English. Somerset, pleased to behold this movement of the Scottish army, ranged his troops in order of battle. The Scots were defeated with the loss of about ten thousand slain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners; while not more than two hundred of the English fell in this engagement. This action was called the battle of Pinkney, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood.

Somerset was desirous of returning to England, where

he heard that some counsellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. On his arrival, he summoned a parliament, in which all laws were repealed that extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III.; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles. By these and other repeals, some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no precise standard by which that crime could be defined or determined; a circumstance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public security, according to the disposition of the judges.

The greater the progress that was made towards a reformation in England, the further did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a nation which had so far departed from ancient principles. The hostile attempts, too, which the late king and the protector had made against Scotland, had served only to inspire the Scottish people with the utmost aversion to a union. The queen-dowager, finding these sentiments prevail, called a parliament, in which it was proposed that the young queen should be sent to France. Accordingly, the governor received a pension of twelve thousand livres a year, and the title of duke of Chatelrault; and Mary embarked on board some French vessels, arrived at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after betrothed to the dauphin.

The mortification of Somerset, on the failure of his project for a union with Scotland, was increased by the intrigues of his own family. His brother, lord Seymour, a man of insatiable ambition and great abilities, by his flattery and address, had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him so immediately upon the demise of the late king, that had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage

to the duchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger brother's wife should have the precedence, employed all her influence with her husband, first to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers.

The first attempt of the admiral was a direct attack upon his brother's authority, by procuring from the young king a letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; but, finding himself prevented in his design by the parliament, he was obliged to submit, and to desire a reconciliation with his brother. His ambition, however, could not be easily checked. His spouse, the queen-dowager, died in child-bed; but so far from regarding this event as an obstacle to his aspiring views, he made his addresses to the lady Elizabeth; and as Henry had excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession, if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain, he is supposed to have aimed at effecting his purpose by the most criminal means. He had brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and it was supposed, that he could on occasion muster an army of ten thousand men, composed of his servants, tenants, and retainers. He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests sir John Sharington, a corrupt man, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerset was well apprised of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured by the most friendly expedients, by intreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours upon his brother, to make him desist from his dangerous councils; but finding all endeavours ineffectual, he was easily persuaded, by the earl of Warwick, to deprive him of the office of admiral, and to commit him to the tower.

Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy counsellors being sent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed a reluctance to ruin his brother; but as Seymour made no other answer to all his friendly offers, than menaces and defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles, and the whole to be laid before the privy council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestibly pro-

ved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the tower, in order more fully to examine the prisoner. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and scarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, susceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that though, on the whole, Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed to him.

But the administration had at that time an easy instrument of vengeance in the parliament; and a session being held, Seymour was proceeded against by bill of attainder. The bill was passed in the upper house without undergoing any objections; but in the house of commons, some members objected against the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder passed in absence, and insisted that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. At length, however, the bill passed; and

the sentence was soon after executed, and the prisoner beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset himself, who was much blamed on account of the violence of these proceedings.

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1549

In this session, the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, was established by parliament; and an act was also passed, permitting the marriage of priests, who had hitherto been enjoined celibacy.

Scarcely any institution can be considered less favourable to the interests of mankind, than that of monks and friars. The convents, however, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent; and though the alms which they distributed gave too much encouragement to idleness, yet the suppression of them was felt and regretted. These grievances were at this time heightened by other causes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England these arts had made greater progress than the knowledge of agriculture. A great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home; pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage; whole estates were laid waste by enclosures; and a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom.

The general increase also of gold and silver in Europe,

after the discovery of the West-Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not so easily change their habitation, still remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry; which, as it was difficult for them to shake off their former habits of indolence, they were, in fact, unwilling to employ.

Loud complaints were heard in every part of England; and these were succeeded by acts of open violence. The rising was simultaneous, as if a general conspiracy had been formed by the people. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and some other counties, were quieted by mild expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences. In Devonshire, the rebels, who amounted to ten thousand, were attacked and defeated near Exeter by lord Russel, who had been sent to disperse them. In Norfolk, the insurgents amounted to twenty thousand, and were headed by one Ket, a tanner. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels; he therefore sent the earl of Warwick, at the head of six thousand men, levied for the wars against Scotland; by which means he afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwick, having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit; and Ket was hanged at Norwich.

But though these insurrections were quickly subdued, they were attended with serious consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The Scots took the fortress of Broughty, and compelled the English to evacuate Haddington; and the French recovered all the conquests which Henry had made on the continent, with the exception of Boulogne.

Somerset, despairing of the assistance of the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; but his enemies in the council opposed all proposals for a pacification. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel,

with five members more, met at Ely-house ; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry of England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance ; they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their order, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerset. They laid the same injunctions on the lieutenant of the tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Other lords and gentlemen joined the malcontent counsellors.

Somerset was sent to the tower ; and articles of indictment were preferred against him. He was prevailed on to confess on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him ; and he even subscribed this confession. The paper was given into parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl-marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no farther ; and his fine was remitted by the king. Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, readmitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset.

When Warwick and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves embarrassed by the wars with France and Scotland : and therefore a pacification was effected, by which France bound herself to pay four hundred thousand crowns for the restitution of Boulogne ; and the English agreed to restore to Scotland Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth.

In all other respects, than an intention of marrying the king to a daughter of the king of France, a violent persecutor of the protestants, the council was steady in promoting the reformation. Several prelates still adhered to the Romish communion, and were deprived of their sees on pretence of disobedience. The

princess Mary declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish the ancient religion ; and Edward, who had been educated in a violent abhorrence of the mass and other popish rites, lamented his sister's obstinacy, and bewailed his fate in suffering her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.

Various schemes attempted by the council for promoting industry were likely to prove abortive, by the ambition of Warwick. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue ; and as sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted in the late reign, Warwick procured a grant of the estate, with the title of Duke of Northumberland.

Finding that Somerset, though degraded from his dignity, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, Northumberland determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his ambition. The alliance between the two families had produced no cordial union. Northumberland secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that unhappy nobleman ; and the unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions, which his treacherous confidants carried to his enemy.

In one night, the duke of Somerset, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested, and committed to custody. Next day the duchess of Somerset, with her favourites, and some others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design of raising an insurrection in the north ; and that he had once projected the murder of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke. Somerset was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, created high-steward. Twenty-seven peers composed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerset was accused of high-treason on account of the projected insurrections, and of felony in laying a design to murder privy-counselors. The proof seems to have been lame in regard to the treasonable part of the charge ; but the prisoner himself confessed that he had expressed his intention of murdering

Northumberland and the other lords; and he was accordingly condemned to death for felony.

Care had been taken to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends. The prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness
 A. D. 1552 that they entertained to the last moment the fond hopes of his pardon. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relick; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime.

The day after the execution of Somerset, a session of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the establishment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorised; and penalties were enacted against all those who absented themselves from public worship.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, less eminent for the dignity of his see, than for his own personal merit, had opposed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion; but as soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted from a sense of duty, and had conformed to every theological system which had been established. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any severe treatment during the administration of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the ascendant, he was thrown into prison; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring to himself a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved to deprive Tonstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the house of peers against that prelate, and passed with slight opposition; but when the bill was sent down to the commons, they required that witnesses should be examined, that Tonstal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers. These demands being refused, they rejected the bill.

This equity, so unusual in the parliament during that age, was ascribed by Northumberland to the prevalence of So-

mersey's faction ; and it was therefore resolved to dissolve the parliament, and to summon a new one. This expedient answered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonsal had, in the interval, been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay-commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The regalties of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland.

The young prince showed a disposition to frugality ; but such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about three hundred thousand pounds ; and as the king's health was declining very fast, the emptiness of the exchequer was an obstacle to the ambitious projects of Northumberland. That nobleman represented to Edward, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had been declared illegitimate by act of parliament ; that the queen of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will ; that the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion ; that the succession next devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk ; that the next heir of the marchioness was the lady Jane Grey, a lady of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion, and every way worthy of a crown ; and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince ; and, above all, his zealous attachment to the protestant religion made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigoted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. And though he bore an affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him that he could not exclude the one sister on account of illegitimacy, without also excluding the other.

Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk, by a second marriage, having died this season of the sweating

sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he persuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the duchess to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guildford Dudley. In order to fortify himself by farther alliances, he negotiated a marriage between the lady Catharine Grey, second daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon. These marriages were solemnized with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

The appearance of symptoms of a consumption in Edward, made Northumberland more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king; and by artifice he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief-justice of the common pleas, sir John Baker, and sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, were accordingly summoned to the council, where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey, and desired time to consider. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry the Eighth had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council; and they were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority. At last, Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should

be immediately after granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance.

When the patent was drawn, and brought to the bishop of Ely, chancellor, in order to have the great seal affixed to it, the prelate required that all the judges should previously sign it. The chancellor next required, for his greater security, that all the privy-counsellors should set their hands to the patent; and the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fear of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone hesitated during some time, but at last yielded to the earnest and pathetic intreaties of the king.

After this settlement was made, with so many inauspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined every day; and, to make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all his bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree; and he expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign.

The English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He possessed mildness of disposition, with application to study and business, and a capacity to learn and judge, with an attachment to equity and justice.

During the reign of Edward, the princess Mary had been regarded as his lawful successor; and though the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred universally entertained against ^{A. D.} 1553 the Dudleys, who, it was foreseen, would reign under the name of Jane, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt to violate the order of succession, had displayed Northumberland's ambition and injustice in a full light.

Northumberland, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and, in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had the art to engage the council, before

Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, desiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm state of health required the assistance of their counsel, and the consolation of their company. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept the king's death still secret; and the lady Mary had already reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her. She immediately made haste to retire; and she arrived at Framlingham, in Suffolk, where she purposed to embark and escape to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to defend her right of succession. She wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county of England, commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person; and she despatched a message to the council, requiring them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London.

Northumberland found that farther dissimulation was fruitless; and he approached the lady Jane with the respect due to a sovereign. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of the transactions which had taken place; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received the intelligence. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, and accomplished talents. Her heart, full of a passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deserving of her affections, had no room for ambition. She even refused to accept the crown, and pleaded the right of the two princesses; and she at last yielded rather to the intreaties than the reasons of her father and husband.

Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. In the mean time, the people of Suffolk paid their attendance on Mary. They were much attached to the reformed religion; and as she assured them that she never meant to change the laws of Edward, they enlisted in her cause with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcements. Even a fleet which had been sent by Northumberland to lie off the coast of Suf-

folk, being forced into Yarmouth by a storm, was engaged to declare in her favour.

Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, saw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not which way to turn. He had levied forces which were assembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counsellors, whose compliance he knew had been entirely the result of fear or artifice, he was resolved to keep near the person of the lady Jane, and send Suffolk to command the army. But the counsellors, who wished to remove him, working on the filial tenderness of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be exposed; and represented that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly suppressing a rebellion in those parts, was more proper to command in that enterprise. The duke himself, who knew the slender capacity of Suffolk, began to think that he only was able to encounter the present danger; and he agreed to take the command of the troops. The counsellors attended him at his departure with the highest protestations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy. As he went along, he remarked the disaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," said he to lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries God speed you!"

The duke had no sooner reached St. Edmondsbury, than he found his army, which did not exceed six thousand men, too weak to encounter the queen's, which amounted to double the number. The counsellors immediately laid hold of the opportunity to free themselves from confinement, and to return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign. The mayor and aldermen of London discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her; and the messengers who were sent to Northumberland with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deserted by all his followers, and had already

proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction.

The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment; and the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse. The queen gave orders for taking into custody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel, sent to arrest him, and abjectly begged his life. At the same time were committed the earl of Warwick, his eldest son; lord Ambrose and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons; sir Andrew Dudley, his brother; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, sir Thomas Palmer, and sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk owed his liberty to the contempt of his incapacity; but Northumberland was too powerful and dangerous to be pardoned; he pleaded guilty, and was executed. Sir Thomas Palmer and sir John Gates suffered with him. Sentence was also pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but the execution of it was at present deferred.

The joy arising from the succession of the lawful heir did not prevent the people from feeling great anxiety concerning the state of religion; and the nation dreaded not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion, from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long before she discovered her intentions. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, and others, were reinstated in their sees; and Cranmer, whose merits to the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable, was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with lady Jane, and pronounced guilty of high treason. The execution of the sentence, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

Several English protestants, foreseeing a persecution of the reformers, took shelter in foreign parts; and affairs wore a dismal aspect for the reformation. In opening the parliament, the court showed a contempt of the laws, by

celebrating before the two houses a mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery, which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

The first bill passed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III., and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry the Eighth. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was more reasonable, than the declaring of that attainder invalid, without farther authority.

Notwithstanding the compliance of the two houses with the queen's inclinations, they were determined not to submit tamely to her pleasure in the choice of a husband. There were three matches, concerning which it was supposed that Mary had deliberated after her accession. The first person proposed to her was the earl of Devonshire, whose person and address had visibly gained on the queen's affections; but that nobleman neglected the advantage, and attached himself to the lady Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her sister; the second was cardinal Pole, who had never taken priest's orders, but who, having contracted habits of study and retirement, was represented to the queen as unsuitable to the business of a court; the third was Philip, son of the emperor Charles V.; and this alliance was not only desired by the emperor, but strenuously recommended by Gardiner, who had become prime minister, and was readily embraced by Mary herself. The commons were alarmed that the queen had resolved to contract a foreign alliance; and they sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure. To prevent farther applications of the

same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament. After the parliament was dismissed, the new laws with regard to religion were openly put in execution. The mass was every where re-established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. This violent and sudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent; but the Spanish match

A. D.
1554 was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourably as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur, of England. It was agreed that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die, and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

These articles, however, gave no satisfaction; and complaints were every where diffused that England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which usually exercised the most violent authority over all her dependent dominions. Some persons, more turbulent than the rest, formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt purposed to raise Kent; sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland counties. Carew's rebellion was soon suppressed; and he was obliged to fly into France. Suffolk endeavoured to raise the people in the counties of Warwick and Leicester; but being closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of three hundred horse, he was taken, and carried prisoner to London. Wyatt was at first more successful in his attempt; and having published a declaration at Maidstone, in Kent, against the

queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk, with sir Henry Jernegan, was sent against him, at the head of the guards and some other troops, reinforced with five hundred Londoners commanded by Bret. The Londoners, however, deserted to Wyat, and declared that they would not contribute to enslave their native country; and Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took shelter in the city.

After this proof of the disposition of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants, Wyat was encouraged to proceed: he led his forces to Southwark, but finding that the bridge was secured against him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with four thousand men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partisans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had, however, imprudently wasted so much time, that the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost, and his followers insensibly falling off; he was taken prisoner near Temple bar, and soon after executed, with about four hundred of his adherents.

The lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her sister. Mary seized the opportunity of this rebellion: and hoping to involve Elizabeth in some appearance of guilt, committed her to the tower; but the princess made so good a defence before the council, who examined her, that the queen found herself under the necessity of releasing her. In order, however, to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody under a strong guard at Woodstock.

This rebellion proved fatal to the lady Jane Gray and her husband. She was warned to prepare for death; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered nowise unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send divines who harassed her with perpetual disputation. The lady Jane, however, had presence of mind, in those melancholy circumstances,

not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in use, but also to write a letter to her sister in the Greek language; in which, besides sending her a copy of the scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like steady perseverance. On the day of her execution, her husband, lord Guilford, desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent, and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required: their separation, she said, would be only for a moment; and they would soon rejoin each other in a scene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have access to them, or disturb their eternal felicity. She saw her husband led to execution: and having given him from the window some token of her remembrance, she waited with tranquility till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. She even saw his headless body carried back in a cart, and found herself more confirmed, by the reports which she heard of the constancy of his end, than shaken by so tender and melancholy a spectacle. Sir John Gage, constable of the tower, when he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her; she gave him her table-book, on which she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English. The purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth at least, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would show her favour. On the scaffold she made a speech to the spectators, in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame wholly on herself, without uttering one complaint against the severity with which she had been treated; and then, with a steady and serene countenance, she submitted to the stroke of death.

The duke of Suffolk was tried and condemned, and soon after executed; and the tower and all the prisons were filled with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation rendered objects of suspicion. The queen,

finding that she was universally hated, determined to deprive the people of resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms.

The ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble; and for the purpose of facilitating this object, the emperor distributed above four hundred thousand crowns in bribes and pensions among the members. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the session by a speech, in which he observed, that in order to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen, by law, with a power of disposing of the crown, and of appointing her successor. The parliament, however, who knew her extreme hatred to Elizabeth, and the probability of her making a will in her husband's favour, and thereby rendering England for ever a province to the Spanish monarchy, refused to acquiesce in Gardiner's proposal; and, the more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes, they passed a law, "that her majesty, as their only queen, should solely, and as a sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample manner after her marriage, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy, or by any other means."

The queen, finding the parliament less subservient than she wished, finished the session by dissolving them; and she employed all her thoughts on receiving Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected. She waited with the utmost impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle was to her a source of anxiety and discontent. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and she could not conceal her vexation, that though she brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with such neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a single letter. Her health, and even her understanding, were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension lest her person, impaired by time and blasted by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip.

At last, news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton. A few days after they were married at Westminster, and having made a pompous entry into London, she carried him to Windsor, the place in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill-calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; and so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible; but this circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness.

Mary soon found that Philip's ruling passion was ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him, and securing his affections, was to render him master of England. For the purpose of obtaining this favourite object, she summoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; but the hatred to the Spaniards still prevailed, and the queen failed in the endeavour to get her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown. That assembly, however, was more obsequious in regard to religion: it had reversed the attainder of cardinal Pole, who had come over invested with legatine powers from the pope; and who, after being introduced to the king and queen, invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; and praying their majesties to intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was easily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church.

The queen's extreme desire of having issue made her fondly give credit to every appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, she fancied that she felt the embryo stir in her womb. Great rejoicings were made on this occasion; but the nation remained somewhat incredulous. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was

upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding that they could obtain no farther concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster and dissolved them. A. D.
1555

The success of Gardiner in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match, and in the re-establishment of the ancient religion, had raised his character above that of Pole, who was regarded rather as a good man than a great minister. The latter was very sincere in his religious principles, and thought that no consideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with the catholic doctrines; whilst Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement. Yet the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets, which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by persecution that religion which in reality he regarded with great indifference.

The arguments and views of Gardiner were more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip; and the scheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the catholic religion the object of deserved detestation.

Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning, was the first victim of the persecutors. This man, besides the care of his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to recant: he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his serenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife; thus adding insult to cruelty.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the

greater terror into his flock ; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation ; but he ordered it to be removed ; and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity : the wind which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body ; the faggots were green, and did not kindle easily ; all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked ; but he was heard to pray, and to exhort the people, till his tongue, swollen with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance.

Sanders was burnt at Coventry : a pardon was also offered him ; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, " Welcome the cross of Christ ! welcome everlasting life ! " Taylor, parson of Hadley, was punished by fire in that place, surrounded by his former friends and parishioners. Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, was condemned to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield. The imputed crime for which almost all the protestants were condemned, was their refusal to acknowledge the doctrine of the real presence.

Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise : he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion ; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst.

It is impossible to enumerate in this work all the cruelties practised in England during the three years that these persecutions lasted. Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocess. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's con-

stancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished."

The tender sex itself, as they have commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage in supporting the profession of their faith against all the persecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances which, even at that time, excited astonishment by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour, when brought to the stake was thrown into such agitation by the torture that her belly burst, and she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it; but a magistrate, who stood by, ordered it to be thrown back, being determined, he said, that nothing should survive which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent.

These barbarities, committed in the name of a religion which abjures them, excited horror in the nation, and rendered the Spanish government daily more odious. Philip, sensible of the hatred which he incurred, ordered his confessor to deliver, in his presence, a sermon in favour of toleration; but this shallow artifice failed of the desired effect, and the court threw off the mask. An attempt was made to introduce the inquisition into England; and a commission was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy; but the court devised a more expeditious and summary method of supporting orthodoxy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition, declaring, "that whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them, or showing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any farther delay be executed by martial law."

In the space of three years, it is computed that two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husband-

men, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children.

The burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romish communion; and little solicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock. However, Paul IV., who now filled the papal chair, insisted that the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the uttermost farthing. This demand had little influence on the nation, but operated powerfully on the queen, who was determined, in order to ease her conscience, to restore all the church-lands which were still in the possession of the crown; and the more to display her zeal, she erected anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstanding the low condition of the exchequer. When this measure was debated in council, some members objected, that if such a considerable part of the revenue were dismembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England.

Persecution had now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament summoned to meet at Westminster. A bill was passed, restoring to the church the tenths and first-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herself, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a subsidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refused by the commons; and many members said, that while the crown was thus despoiling itself of its revenue, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

The spirit of opposition which prevailed in parliament, was the more vexatious to Mary, as Philip, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had left her, and gone over to Flanders. The indifference and neglect of her husband, added to the disappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into a deep melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen, by daily enforcing the persecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all

her subjects, by whom she knew herself to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her so little of his company. The less return her love met with, the more it increased; and she passed most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom returned her any answer, and scarcely deigned to pretend any sentiment of love, or even of gratitude, towards her. The chief part of government to which she attended, was the extorting of money from her people, in order to satisfy his demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a scanty supply, she had recourse to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied loans and exacted contributions with the greatest rapacity; and this at a time when she was at peace with all the world, and had no other occasion for money than to supply the demands of a husband, who attended only to his own convenience, and showed himself indifferent to her interests.

Philip was now become master of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation A. D.
1556 of the emperor Charles V., who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquility of retreat, for that happiness which he had in vain pursued amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. Philip, finding himself threatened with a war with France, was desirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and though the queen was extremely averse to the measure, yet she was incapable of resisting her husband's importunity. But she had little weight with her council, and still less with her people; and a new act of barbarity, of which she was guilty, rendered her government extremely unpopular.

Cranmer had long been detained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as con-

tumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby, of Ely, were sent to degrade him ; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which suited his savage nature. The implacable spirit of the queen, not satisfied with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned, prompted her to seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him by flattery, insinuation, and address ; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation ; and by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by the fond love of life, and terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that his recantation should avail him nothing ; and they sent him orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution. Whether Cranmer had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, he surprised the audience by a contrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws ; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever hardships they should impose upon him ; that a superior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind ; that there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented—the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him ; that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation ; and was willing to seal with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven ; and that, as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a se-

vere but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults of the catholics; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, "this hand has offended." Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of hope and resolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. Cranmer was undoubtedly a man of great merit. He was adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and his learning and capacity entitled him to the esteem of mankind.

After Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole was installed in the see of Canterbury, and placed at the head of the church of England; but, though he was averse to all sanguinary methods of converting heretics, his authority was too weak to oppose the barbarous and bigotted disposition of the queen and her counsellors. In order to engage the nation in the war between France and Spain, Philip had come to London; and he told the queen, that if he were not gratified in this request, he would never more set foot in England. After employing menaces ^{A. D.} and artifices, Mary's importunity prevailed; war ¹⁵⁵⁷ was declared against France; and preparations were made for invading that kingdom.

The revenue of England at that time little exceeded three hundred thousand pounds; and in order to support the war, the queen levied money by the most arbitrary and violent methods. She obliged the city of London to sup-

ply her with sixty thousand pounds on her husband's entry; she levied, before the legal time, the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she issued anew many privy-seals, by which she procured loans from the people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual, by reason of the dearness of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the tower; and, lest they should be known, they either were carried thither in the night time, or were hood-winked and muffled by the guards who conducted them.

The king of Spain's army, after the junction of the English, amounted to sixty thousand men; and the duke of Savoy, who commanded it, suddenly invested St. Quentin. The constable, Montmorency, approached the place with his whole army; but being attacked by the besiegers, he was totally defeated and made prisoner. By this event, the whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation; but the cautious temper of Philip allowed the French time to recover their spirits, and no other enterprise of moment followed this decisive victory.

Calais, which the English had held above two hundred years, was unexpectedly invested, and attacked by
 A. D. 1558 the duke of Guise, who in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortress, though it had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Cressy. The loss of this valuable fortress occasioned loud murmurs among the English, who complained of the improvidence of the queen and her council.

The Scots, excited by the French, began to infest the borders; and the English were obliged to look to their defence at home, rather than think of foreign conquests. In order to connect Scotland more closely with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputa-

tion was sent by the Scottish parliament to assist at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

This close alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repose and security of Mary; and it was foreseen, that though the factions and disorders which might naturally be expected in the Scottish government, during the absence of the sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. The commons, without making any reflections on the past exactions and extortions, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods. The parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crown-lands, which either were already made by the queen, or should be made during the seven ensuing years.

During this whole reign, the nation were under great apprehensions with regard not only to the succession, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the queen bore to her appeared on every occasion; and it required all the prudence of that princess to prevent the effects of Mary's jealous disposition. Being asked her opinion of the real presence, the net for catching the protestants, she is said to have replied as follows:

"Christ was the word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it."

The money granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, which being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Brittany. Negotiations for peace were entered into between the kings of France and Spain; and the armies in Picardy were put into winter quarters till the princes should come to some agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip, that of Calais and its territory to England; but in the midst of these negotiations, news arrived of Mary's death. She had long been in a decli-

ning state of health ; and the loss of Calais, and the
 A. D. absence of her husband, brought on a lingering
 1558 fever, of which she died, after a short and inglorious reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

Mary possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable ; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, the fruits of bad temper, and a narrow understanding, attach to her character ; and amidst this complication of vices, we can find no other virtue than that of sincerity.

Under her reign, the naval power of England was so inconsiderable, that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to the repairing and victualling of the fleet, it was computed that ten thousand pounds a year would afterwards answer all necessary charges.

CHAP. XII.

The reign of Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH had displayed great prudence during the reign of her sister ; and as men were sensible of the imminent danger to which she was exposed, compassion towards her situation, and concern for her safety, had rendered her the favourite of the nation. A parliament had

been assembled a few days before Mary's death ;
 A. D. and when that event was notified to them, scarcely
 1558 an interval of regret appeared ; the two houses immediately resounded with the joyful acclamations of " God save queen Elizabeth ; long and happily may she reign !" The people, less actuated by faction, expressed a joy still more general and sincere. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, Elizabeth buried all offences in oblivion ; but when the bishops came to make obeisance to her, she turned away from Bonner, as from a man polluted with blood.

In notifying her accession to Philip, she expressed to him her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her ; and that monarch, hoping by the means of Elizabeth to obtain that dominion over England of which he had failed in espousing Mary, made her proposals of marriage. To these, however, she returned an obliging, but evasive answer.

The education and conviction of Elizabeth determined her to pursue the measures of the reformation; and she frequently deliberated with sir William Cecil on the means of restoring the protestant religion; but she resolved to proceed with cautious steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary, in encouraging a violent invasion on the established religion. She recalled those who had fled; she set at liberty those who had been confined on account of religion; she ordered a great part of the service to be read in English; and after enjoining all the churches to conform to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence. By her affability and address she gained the affections of her subjects; and she delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was summoned to assemble.

The elections had gone entirely against the catholics; and the houses met in a disposition to gratify the queen. They began the session with an unanimous declaration, that "queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God, as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood-royal, according to the order of succession settled in the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII." This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herself and her minister; and she did not follow the example of Mary, in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly passed against her own legitimacy.

The first bill brought into parliament was for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. This point being gained, a bill was next passed, annexing the supremacy to the crown, which was vested with the whole spiritual power; and whoever denied, or refused to acknowledge the queen's supremacy, was subjected to certain pains and penalties. A law was passed confirming all the statutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion.

A solemn and public disputation was held during this session, between the divines of the protestant and those of the catholic communion, in which, it may be easily imagined, the champions of the former were entirely triumphant. Emboldened by this victory, the protestants ven-

tured on bringing a bill into parliament for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Thus, in one session, without any violence or tumult, the whole system of religion was changed, and placed on another foundation.

The commons also voted the queen a liberal subsidy ; but when, in an importunate address, they besought her to fix her choice of a husband, she rejected the proposal, and observed, that England was her husband, and the people her children. She added, that she desired no higher character than to have it inscribed on her tombstone, " Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

While the queen and parliament were employed in settling the national religion, negotiations for peace were carried on between the ministers of France, Spain, and England. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure a restitution of Calais to England. So long as he entertained hopes of espousing the queen, he delayed to conclude a peace with Henry ; and he seemed willing to continue the war till she should obtain satisfaction. But Elizabeth, sensible of the low state of her finances, ordered her ambassadors to conclude a peace with Henry on any reasonable terms. It was agreed, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years ; but it was evident, that this was only a colourable pretence for abandoning that fortress. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France.

But though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared serious grounds for misunderstanding. The king of France ordered his son and daughter-in-law to quarter the arms of England on all their equipages and liveries ; and as the queen of Scots was next heir to that throne, Elizabeth plainly saw, that the king of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. Soon after, Francis II. succeeded to the throne of France, and still continuing to assume without reserve the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies ; and the jealousy thus excited against the queen of Scots terminated only with the life of the unfortunate Mary.

The present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded Elizabeth a favourable opportunity both of revenging the

injury, and providing for her own safety. Popery was still the religion of the state in that country; but the English preachers, who took shelter in Scotland, on the accession of Mary to the throne of England, had filled the whole kingdom with horror at the cruelties of the catholics; and by their means, the reformation in that country had acquired additional strength, and even threatened the established religion.

About this critical time, when the queen-regent, agreeable to the orders received from France, had been proceeding with rigour against the protestants, John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the highest fanaticism of his sect, augmented by the natural ferocity of his own character. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation; and mounting the pulpit at Perth, during the present ferment of men's minds, he declaimed against the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert themselves for its subversion. A tumult immediately succeeded; and, in a short time, a civil war raged through the whole kingdom.

The leaders of the reformers, who had assumed the title of the congregation, solicited succours from Elizabeth; and the wise council of the queen did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request. She equipped a fleet, which consisted of thirteen ships of war; and she assembled at Berwick an army of eight thousand men, under the command of lord Gray, warden of the east and middle marches. The court of France, sensible of the danger, offered the immediate restitution of Calais, provided she would not interfere in the affairs of Scotland; but she resolutely replied, that she would never put an inconsiderable fishing-town in competition with the safety of her dominions. Accordingly, she concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the congregation, and receiving from the Scots six hostages for the performance of articles, she ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

The appearance of the English soon decided the fate of the contest: and a treaty was speedily concluded, in which it was stipulated that the French should immediately evacuate Scotland, and that an amnesty should be granted for all past offences. Soon after, the parliament abolished the papal jurisdiction in

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Scotland, and established the presbyterian form of discipline, though Mary refused to sanction their statutes.

Francis IV. died soon after, and Mary, finding her abode in France disagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country; and she applied to Elizabeth for a safe conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England; but she received for answer, that till she had ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person whom she had so much injured. To this Mary replied with indignation, "With God's permission, I can return to Scotland without her leave;" and embarking at Calais, she passed the English fleet in a fog, and arrived safe at Leith. Though a widow, yet she was only in her nineteenth year; and by her beauty, and the politeness of her manners, she was well qualified to gain the affections of her subjects, who rejoiced at her arrival among them. Her first measures were calculated to establish order in a country divided by public factions and private feuds; but there was one circumstance which bereaved Mary of the general favour that her agreeable manners and judicious deportment entitled her to expect. She was still a papist; and this exposed the helpless queen to unmerited contumely, which she bore with benignity and patience. In particular, John Knox, who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, triumphed in the contumelious abuse of his sovereign, whom he usually denominated Jezebel.

The queen of Scots, destitute of the means of resistance, and pressed by a turbulent nobility and a bigoted people, found that her only expedient for maintaining tranquility was the preservation of a friendly connection with Elizabeth. Secretary Lidington was, therefore, sent to London, to pay her compliments to the queen, and express her desire of friendship and a good correspondence; and both sovereigns assumed the appearance of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other.

Elizabeth, finding that Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her subjects, employed herself in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom. She furnished the arsenals with arms, fortified the frontiers, promoted trade and navigation, and by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting the same to the merchants,

she acquired to herself the titles of the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas.

Though Elizabeth kept aloof from marriage, yet she was not only very averse to appoint any successor to the crown, but was resolved, as much as was in her power, that no one, who could pretend to the succession, should have any heirs or successors. The lady Catherine Gray, younger sister to lady Jane, having privately married the earl of Hertford, and proving pregnant, they were both committed to the tower. As Hertford could not prove their nuptials within the time limited, the issue was declared illegitimate; and the earl was confined for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing the queen from all apprehension of heirs and claimants from that quarter, procured him his liberty.

At this time, the two great rival powers of Europe were Spain and England. The bigotry and intolerant spirit of Philip placed him at the head of the catholic party; while Elizabeth, from her religious opinions, and the conduct which she pursued, was considered as the bulwark and support of the protestants. The civil and religious contests by which France was divided, rendered that country an object of vigilance both to Philip and Elizabeth: the former supported the established government and religion; while the latter lent her aid in protecting the Hugonots, or protestant party, which had taken arms under the prince of Conde. Three thousand English took possession of Havre and Dieppe; but the latter place was so little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics; and though the English troops in it behaved with great gallantry, the place was taken by assault, and the whole garrison put to the sword.

It was expected that the French catholics would immediately have formed the siege of Havre; but the intestine divisions of the kingdom diverted their attention to another object. By the influence of Elizabeth, a considerable body of protestants had been levied in Germany; and the Hugonots were enabled to take field against their enemies. A famous battle was fought at Dreux; and in this action, Conde and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, by a singular fatality, fell into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but the admiral Coligni, collecting the remains of the army,

and inspiring every breast with his own invincible courage, subdued some considerable places in Normandy.

The expenses incurred by assisting the Hugonots had emptied the queen's exchequer, and obliged her to call a parliament. As the life of Elizabeth had been endangered by the small-pox, a little before the meeting of that assembly, the commons, on the opening of the session, again entreated the queen to choose a husband, whom they promised faithfully to serve; or, if she entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be appointed by an act of parliament.

This subject was very little agreeable to the queen, who, considering the inconveniences likely to arise from declaring in favour either of the queen of Scots or the house of Suffolk, determined to keep both parties in awe by maintaining an ambiguous conduct. She gave, therefore, an evasive answer to the commons, whom she told, that she had fixed no absolute resolution against marriage; that the difficulties attending the question of the succession were so great, that, for the sake of her people, she would be contented to remain some time longer in this vale of misery; and that she could not die with satisfaction, till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security.

In the mean time, the duke of Guise had been assassinated before Orleans, and Conde and Montmorency had come to an agreement, that a toleration should be granted anew to the protestants. The interests of England were disregarded in the treaty; and Havre, which had been some time in possession of the English, was obliged to capitulate to the arms of France. Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight do not appear in this transaction, was now glad to compound matters, by agreeing that the hostages which the French had previously given for the restitution of Calais, should be restored on the payment of two hundred and twenty thousand crowns, and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions.

The peace with Scotland still continued; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing would satisfy her but her espousing some English nobleman, which would remove all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding between them. At last, she named

lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired that Mary's choice should fall.

Leicester, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, possessed all those exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair sex; and, by means of these accomplishments, he was able to blind the sagacious Elizabeth, and to conceal from her the great defects which marked his character. He was proud, insolent, and ambitious, without honour or principle. The constant and declared attachment of Elizabeth to him, had emboldened him to aspire to her bed; and the proposal of espousing Mary was by no means agreeable to him. Indeed, it is probable, that the queen had no serious intentions of effecting this marriage, and that her design was merely to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance; for when Mary, in the hopes of being declared successor to the crown, seemed to listen to the proposal, Elizabeth receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait which she had thrown out to her rival.

After two years spent in evasions and artifices, Mary married lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox, her cousin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII.; and as he was, after his spouse, next heir to the crown of England, this marriage seemed to strengthen and unite both their claims.

Elizabeth was secretly not displeased with this marriage, though she would rather have wished that Mary had remained single; yet she menaced, protested, and complained, as if she had suffered the most grievous injury. It served her as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England, and for encouraging the discontents of the Scottish nobility and clergy, to whom she promised support in their rebellious enterprises.

Mary, however, was no sooner informed of the designs forming against her by the duke of Chatelrault, the earls of Murray, Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairn, and some others, than she assembled her forces, and obliged those rebel noblemen to leave their country, and take shelter in England.

Elizabeth, when she found the event so much to disappoint her expectations, disavowed all connexion with the Scottish malcontents, and even drove them from her presence. The banished lords had now recourse to the cle-

mency of their own sovereign; and Mary seemed inclined to restore them to favour; but her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, to whose opinion she always paid the greatest deference, advised her by no means to pardon the protestant leaders.

The cardinal of Lorraine had been a chief instrument in forming an association between Philip and Catharine of Medicis, for the extermination of the protestants; and he took care that the measures of the queen of Scots should correspond with the violent councils embraced by the other catholic princes. A parliament was summoned at Edinburgh for attainting the banished lords, who were saved from the rigour of the law only by the ruin of Mary herself.

The marriage of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley was so precipitate, that while she was allured by his youth and beauty, and exterior accomplishments, she had not observed that the qualities of his mind by no means corresponded with the excellence of his person. He was violent, insolent, and ungrateful; addicted to low pleasures, and incapable of the sentiments of love and domestic endearment. The queen of Scots, in the first effusions of her fondness, had granted him the title of king, and had joined his name with her own in all public acts; but observing his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality; and the young prince, enraged at her imaginary neglects, pointed his vengeance against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in her measures and behaviour.

There happened to be in the court one David Rizzio, a Piedmontese musician, of mean birth, who, by his professional talents, and the arts of address, had insinuated himself into the favour of Mary. He became her secretary for French despatches; he was consulted on all occasions; favours of honour or emolument could be obtained only through his intercession; and his insolence and rapacity drew on himself the hatred of the nobility and of the whole kingdom.

On the change of the queen's sentiments, it was easy for Darnley's friends to persuade him that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to excite in his mind jealousies of a more dangerous nature; and the king, by the advice of several of the courtiers, determined on the assassination of Rizzio. Mary, in the sixth month

of her pregnancy, was supping in private with the countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and others of her servants, when the king entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair. Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, rushed in after him; and Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his mistress for protection; but in spite of her cries, and menaces, and entreaties, Douglas struck a dagger into the body of Rizzio, who was then dragged into the anti-chamber, and despatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy queen, informed of his fate, immediately dried up her tears, and said she would weep no more, but think of revenge.

The conspirators applied to the earl of Bothwell, a new favourite, and that nobleman pacified Mary; but she was implacable against her husband, whom she rendered the object of universal contempt. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, where Mary was delivered of a son; and sir James Melvil was sent with the intelligence of this happy event to England. Melvil tells us, that Elizabeth had given a ball to her court at Greenwich the evening of his arrival in London, and was displaying all her usual spirit and gayety; but when news arrived of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped, and she complained to some of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a son, while she was only a barren stock.

The birth of a son gave additional zeal to Mary's partisans in England, where her conduct also procured her universal esteem; but these flattering prospects were suddenly blasted by her egregious indiscretion at least, or, as some are still inclined to suppose, by her atrocious guilt.

The earl of Bothwell was a man of considerable power in Scotland, but of profligate manners. He had acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and reports were spread of too great an intimacy between them, though Bothwell was a married man. These reports gained ground from the increased hatred of the queen towards her husband, who, sensible of the neglects which he underwent, had it in contemplation to retire into France or Spain.

While affairs were in this unpleasant situation, Darnley was seized with an illness of an extraordinary nature; and the queen visiting him during his sickness, treated him with great tenderness, and a cordial reconciliation seemed

to have been brought about between them. The king, naturally uxorious, put himself implicitly into her hands; and as the concourse of people about the court might disturb him in his infirm state of health, Mary assigned him a lodging in a solitary house, called the Kirk of Field. In this situation, the queen gave him marks of kindness and attention, and lay some nights in a room below his; but, on the 9th of February, she told him, that she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was there to be celebrated in her presence. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole city of Edinburgh was alarmed by a great noise; and it was discovered, that the house in which the king lay had been blown up by gunpowder, and that his dead body had been carried by the violence of the explosion into a neighbouring field.

The general opinion was, that Bothwell was the author of this horrible crime; and the earl of Lenox, Darnley's father, implored speedy justice against him and the other assassins. Mary allowed only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair; and as Bothwell still possessed the confidence of the queen, and enjoyed his former authority, Lenox entertained just apprehensions from the power, insolence, and temerity of his enemy. As, therefore, neither accuser nor witness appeared at the trial, Bothwell was absolved from the king's murder; but the verdict in his favour was attended with circumstances which strongly confirmed the general opinion of his guilt. Mary, having gone to visit her son at Stirling, was seized by Bothwell, and ostensibly carried off against her will, with the avowed design of forcing her to yield to his purpose. Some of the nobility sent the queen a private message, that if she lay under force, they would use all their efforts to rescue her; but the queen professed herself satisfied with Bothwell's conduct, and granted him a pardon for the violence committed on her person, and for all other crimes.

Soon after this infamous transaction, Bothwell obtained a divorce from his wife; and Mary, with indecent precipitation, raised him to her bed and to her throne. Elizabeth remonstrated, by friendly letters and messages, against the marriage; the court of France did the same; but Mary paid no regard to the advice she received, and seemed to scorn the united censures of Europe.

At length the spirit of the nation was roused ; and lord Hume, with a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly environed the queen of Scots and Bothwell in the castle of Bothwick. They found means, however, of making their escape ; but Mary was obliged to put herself into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace, who reproached her for her crimes, and who held before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her husband and the distress of her infant son. Bothwell, meanwhile, found means to reach the Orkneys, whence he escaped to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, and losing his senses, died about ten years after, in extreme misery.

Mary was sent under a guard to the castle of Lochleven, where the associated lords refused Throgmorton, the English ambassador, all access to her ; and various schemes were proposed for the treatment of the captive queen. In the mean time, the earl of Murray was appointed regent, and Mary signed a deed, by which she resigned the crown in favour of her son. In consequence of this forced renunciation, the young prince was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. ; and he was soon after crowned at Stirling, where the earl of Morton took the coronation oath in his name. Mary, however, found A. D.
1568 means to escape from Lochleven : and being joined by many of the nobility, an army of six thousand men was assembled, in a few days, under her standard. The regent instantly took the field against her ; and, coming to an engagement at Langside, near Glasgow, the queen's forces were entirely defeated.

The unhappy Mary fled from the field of battle, with a few adherents, to the borders of England ; and rashly confiding to some late specious professions of Elizabeth, she embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington, in Cumberland ; whence she immediately despatched a messenger to London, to notify her arrival, to request leave to visit Elizabeth, and to crave her protection.

Elizabeth, seeing her rival thus in her power, attended rather to the dictates of policy than generosity. She sent lord Scrope and sir Francis Knollis to inform her, that her request of being allowed to visit their sovereign could not

be complied with, till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder. On receiving this intelligence, Mary burst into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration, that she would submit her cause to the arbitration of her sister of England. The regent of Scotland, too, professed his readiness to abide by the determination of Elizabeth. Mary was removed to Bolton, in Yorkshire, and placed under the care of lord Scrope; and the issue of this affair was regarded as an object of the greatest moment to the interests and security of Elizabeth. Commissioners were appointed on the part of England, of Mary, and of the regent, representing the king and kingdom of Scotland, and met at York, where this grand inquiry commenced. Under pretext, however, that the distance from her person retarded the proceedings of the commissioners, Elizabeth removed the conferences to Hampton-court.

When Murray, the regent, was called upon for proofs of his charge against Mary, he produced before the commissioners some love-letters and sonnets, and a promise of marriage to Bothwell, before his trial and acquittal, all written in the hand of the queen of Scots. These were incontestible evidences of her imprudence, and of her criminal correspondence with Bothwell, however they may be considered in regard to her consent to the murder of her husband; but as Mary had instructed her commissioners not to make a defence, if any thing were advanced that touched her honour, as she was a sovereign princess, and could not be subject to a foreign tribunal, though she professed her readiness to justify her innocence to Elizabeth in person, the conferences terminated, and no decision was given.

The queen of Scots was now removed from Bolton to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and put under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes, that she would either resign the crown, or associate her son with her in the government, and leave the administration in the hands of Murray during her son's minority; but the high spirited Mary declared, that her last words should be those of a queen of Scotland; and she insisted either that Elizabeth should assist her in recovering her authority, or give her liberty to retire into France. Elizabeth, how-

ever, refused both these proposals, and determined to detain her still a captive.

The duke of Norfolk, the only peer that enjoyed the highest title of nobility, and the most powerful subject in England, was at this time a widower; and his marriage with the queen of Scots appeared desirable to several of his friends and those of that princess. The scheme was made known to Norfolk, who, afraid of disclosing his intentions to Elizabeth, endeavoured to increase his interest in the kingdom, by engaging the nobility to favour the measure. Mary was applied to on the subject, and returned a favourable answer. The kings of France and Spain were secretly consulted, and expressed their approbation of the measure; and though Elizabeth's consent was always held out as a previous condition of finishing this alliance, it was apparently the duke's intention to render his party too formidable to be resisted.

Elizabeth was not entirely unacquainted with the plan, and even intimated to the duke the necessity of caution; but he wanted either prudence or courage to make known to her his full intentions; and when the court of England received certain information of this dangerous combination, the alarm became extreme. Norfolk and many of his friends were arrested; and the queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, and all access to her, for a time, was more strictly prohibited.

The conspirators, among whom were the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, appealed to arms; and about four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse took the field, and expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England. The duke of Norfolk, however, not only discountenanced these proceedings, but employed all his interest to suppress the rebellion; which being effected in a short time, the queen was so well pleased with his behaviour, that she released him from the tower, and only exacted a promise from him, not to proceed any farther in his negotiations with the queen of Scots.

After an interval of five years, a new parliament was assembled, in which appeared the dawn of spirit and liberty among the English. The puritans agitated several questions respecting religion; and Strickland, a member of the house of commons, moved a bill for the amendment of

the liturgy. This was highly resented by the queen, who was, if possible, still more jealous of what regarded religion, than of matters of state. She summoned Strickland before the council, and prohibited him from appearing in the house of commons; but finding that her conduct was likely to excite a great ferment, she sent him permission to give his attendance in parliament. Elizabeth, however, would not allow the parliament to discuss any matters of state, and still less to meddle with the church. For a long period, the chief business for which parliament was assembled was, to grant subsidies, to attain and punish the obnoxious nobility, and to countenance such great efforts of power as might be deemed somewhat exceptionable, when they proceeded entirely from the sovereign. The queen, as she was determined to yield none of her power, was very cautious in asking the parliament for any supply. She endeavoured, by a rigid frugality, to make her ordinary revenues suffice for the necessities of the crown; or she employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents and monopolies, or by some such ruinous expedient.

The bigotry of Philip, and the inhuman severity of his representative, the duke of Alva, had filled the Low Countries with confiscation, imprisonment, exile, and death. Elizabeth gave protection to all the Flemings who took shelter in her dominions, and reaped the advantage of introducing into England some useful manufactures which were before unknown. Alva, whose measures were ever violent, entered into a scheme with the Spanish ambassador, and one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, for uniting the catholics and Mary queen of Scots in a confederacy against Elizabeth. The duke of Norfolk, despairing of the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, was tempted to violate his word, and to open anew his correspondence with the captive queen. A promise of marriage was renewed between them; and the duke gave his consent to enterprises still more criminal.

The new conspiracy had hitherto escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and of Cecil, now lord Burleigh; but one of the duke's servants betrayed his master; and the evidence of the bishop of Ross proved the guilt of Norfolk beyond all doubt. A jury of twenty-five peers passed sentence

upon him ; but the queen hesitated to put the sentence in execution. At length, after a delay of four months, the fatal warrant was signed ; and Norfolk died, acknowledging the justice of his sentence. A. D.
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The queen of Scots was charged by Elizabeth as the cause of these disturbances ; and though Mary endeavoured to justify herself, the queen was little satisfied with her apology, and the parliament applied for her immediate trial ; but Elizabeth forbade them to proceed farther in the affair, and only increased the rigour and strictness of her confinement.

The same views which engaged the queen to support the Hugonots in France, would have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the Low Countries ; but the mighty power of Philip kept her in awe, and obliged her to deny the Flemish exiles an entrance into her dominions. The people, however, enraged by the cruelty, oppression, and persecution under which they suffered, flew to arms. Holland and Zealand revolted ; and under the auspices of the prince of Orange, the whole Batavian provinces united in a league against the tyranny of Spain. By a solemn embassy, the Flemings offered Elizabeth the sovereignty of these provinces, if she would exert her power in their defence ; but as she was never ambitious of conquests, or of new acquisitions, she declined the proffered sovereignty. The queen, however, sent the revolted a sum of money, and concluded a treaty with them, in which she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, at the charge of the Flemings. It was farther agreed, that the new States, as they began to call themselves, should enter into no alliance without her consent, and if any discord should arise among them, it was to be referred to her arbitration. She was desirous of making the king of Spain believe that her sole motive for entering into a treaty with the States, was to prevent them from throwing themselves into the arms of France ; and Philip dissembled his resentment against the queen, and waited for an opportunity of taking his revenge.

Elizabeth was extremely anxious to support an interest in Scotland, because that country alone afforded her enemies the means of attacking her, and because she was sensible that the Guises had engaged Mary to have recourse to the powerful protection of Philip. That prince, under

the name of the pope, sent a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; but they were soon obliged to surrender; and when the English ambassador complained of the invasion, he was answered by similar complaints of the piracies committed by Drake in the new world.

This brave officer, setting sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and sixty-four men, passed the Straits of Magellan, attacked the Spaniards in South America, and captured many rich prizes. He was the first Englishman that completed the circumnavigation of the globe; and he returned safely to his native country, after a voyage of more than three years.

In order to avert the resentment of Spain, the queen was persuaded to disavow the enterprise; but she
A. D. 1580 determined to countenance this gallant officer, on whom she conferred the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet at Greenwich, on board the ship which had performed such a memorable voyage.

The duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, nearly twenty-five years younger than the queen, became a suitor of Elizabeth. He came over to England in order to prosecute his suit; and the reception which he met with made him expect complete success. On the anniversary of her coronation, the queen was observed to take a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his: and all the spectators concluded, that in this ceremony, she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. Reflections, however, on the probable consequences of this marriage, filled the mind of the queen with anxiety and irresolution; but, at length, prudence and ambition prevailed over her affections; and she dismissed the duke with some apologies. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her, and uttered many curses on the mutability of women and of islanders.

The affairs of Scotland again strongly engaged the attention of the queen. A conspiracy of the discontented nobles was formed, probably with the concurrence
A. D. 1582 of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of James at Ruthven, a seat belonging to the earl of Gowry, one of the conspirators. The king wept when he found himself a prisoner; but the master of Glamis said, "No matter for his tears: it is better that boys weep than bearded

men." This expression James never forgave ; but he acquiesced in his own detention, and agreed to summon both an assembly of the church, and a convention of the estates, in order to ratify that enterprise.

The queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected ; but hearing of James's confinement, she wrote in the most pathetic manner to the queen, entreating her to raise them both from their present melancholy situation, and reinstate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled. This humble application produced little effect, though some ostensible steps were taken ; but James, impatient of restraint, escaped from his keepers, and fleeing to St. Andrews, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The opposite party found themselves unable to resist, and were offered a pardon on their submission. Some of them accepted the terms ; but the greater part left the country, and took shelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth.

The queen sent Walsingham into Scotland, on purpose to penetrate the character of James ; and as James excelled in general discourse and conversation, that minister conceived a higher opinion of his talents than he really deserved ; and from the favourable report of his capacity, Elizabeth was inclined to treat the young king with more respect than she had hitherto done. The revolutions in Scotland, however, would have been little regarded, had not the zeal of the catholics daily threatened her with some dangerous insurrection. Many of the plots which had been discovered, were imputed to the intrigues of Mary ; and the parliament passed a resolution "to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose suggestion, or for whose behoof, any violence should be offered to her majesty." The queen of Scots was sensible that this was intended against her ; and to remove all suspicion from herself, she desired leave to subscribe this resolution.

During the same session, a conspiracy was discovered, which greatly increased the animosity against the catholics. One William Parry, who had received the queen's pardon for a capital crime, was instigated by some Romanist of high rank and authority to

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attempt the life of the queen, by shooting at her while she was taking the air on horseback. The conspiracy, however, was betrayed by one of his associates ; and Parry being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt, and suffered the punishment of death.

About the same time, the prince of Orange perished at Delft, by the hands of an assassin ; and the States sent a solemn embassy to London, and made anew an offer to the queen, of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth, however, again declined the sovereignty, but entered into an alliance with the States, and sent the earl of Leicester with a considerable army to their relief.

The queen, while she provoked so powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, by her open aid to the revolted Flemings, took care to secure herself on the side of Scotland, by forming an alliance with James for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. But the unfortunate Mary, whose impatience of confinement and unsubdued spirit, together with her zeal for popery, impelled to the most desperate acts, engaged in designs against Elizabeth, which afforded her enemies a reason or pretence for effecting her complete ruin.

Ballard, a Romish priest, encouraged by the hopes of succours from the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise, came over to England, and bent his endeavours to effect at once an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion. The first person to whom he confided his intentions was Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, who was ardent in the cause of Mary and of the catholic religion. Babington employed himself in increasing the number of the associates in this desperate undertaking ; and he communicated the project to Mary, who approved highly of the design, and who observed, that the death of Elizabeth was necessary, before any other attempt should be made. Ballard, however, being arrested, his confederates became alarmed, and took to flight ; but being seized, they were tried, condemned, and executed.

The lesser conspirators being thus depatched, measures were taken for the trial of the queen of Scots, who was conducted to Fotheringay castle, in the county of Northampton. A commission, consisting of forty noblemen and

privy-counsellors, was appointed and empowered to pass sentence on Mary, who was described in the instrument as late queen of Scots, and heiress to James V. of Scotland.

On this awful occasion, Mary behaved with great dignity. She protested her innocence, and declared that Elizabeth had no authority over her, who was an independent sovereign, and not amenable to the laws of England. Her objections, however, were over-ruled; her letters, and the confessions of the conspirators, were produced in evidence against her; and a few days after, sentence of death was pronounced against her. Both houses of parliament ratified this sentence, which was certainly illegal, if not unjust; and they urged the queen to consent to its publication and execution.

Elizabeth, however, affected great reluctance to execute the sentence against Mary, and asked if it were not possible to secure the public tranquillity by some other expedient than the death of the queen of Scots; but when foreign powers interfered, and interceded in behalf of the unfortunate Mary, Elizabeth became obdurate, and determined to execute the sentence. The interposition of James, who remonstrated in very severe terms in favour of his mother, was unavailing; and Elizabeth, tired with importunity, and dreading the consequences, ordered Davison, her secretary, privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be made to rescue Mary. She signed the warrant, and commanded Davison to procure the great seal to be affixed to it; but when Davison told her that the warrant had passed the great seal, she blamed his precipitation. Davison acquainted the council with the transaction; and they endeavoured to persuade him to send off the warrant, promising to take on themselves the whole blame of the measure. The secretary, not sufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was despatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them to see the sentence executed on the queen of Scots.

Mary, informed of this commission, though somewhat surprised, betrayed no symptoms of fear. The night before her execution, she called in all her servants, drank to them, and bade them a solemn farewell. Next morning

she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet ; and having declared her resolution to die in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, her head was severed from her body by the executioner. Thus perished, in the
A. D. 1587 forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary, queen of Scots, a woman of great accomplishments, both of body and mind. The beauty of her person, and the charms of her address and conversation, rendered her the most amiable of women. Whether we consider her faults as imprudences or crimes, certain it is, that she was betrayed into actions which can with difficulty be accounted for, and which admit of no apology or extenuation. In her numerous misfortunes, we forget her faults ; and the accomplishments which she possessed render us insensible to the errors of her conduct.

When Elizabeth was informed of the execution of Mary, she affected the utmost surprise and indignation. She wrote an exculpatory letter to James ; and she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried for a misdemeanor. He was condemned to imprisonment during the pleasure of the queen, and to pay a fine which reduced him to beggary.

The dissimulation of Elizabeth, however, was too gross to deceive any person ; and James and his nobles breathed nothing but revenge. When, however, James began coolly to reflect on the consequences of a war with England, and that he might thereby forfeit the certain prospect of his succession to the English throne, he stifled his resentments, and gradually entered into a good correspondence with the court of England.

While Elizabeth insured tranquility from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, accounts were received of the vast preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England, and for the entire conquest of this kingdom. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, Philip had for some time been equipping vessels of uncommon size and force, and filling them with stores and provisions. The most renowned nobility of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the honour of this great enterprise ; and the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and confident of success, had already denominated this armament "The Invincible Armada."

Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

Elizabeth, finding that she must contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, made preparations for resistance; and though her force seemed very inadequate to oppose so powerful an enemy, every place in the kingdom discovered the greatest readiness in defending their liberty and religion, by contributing ships, men, and money. The gentry and nobility vied with each other in the same generous career; and all the loans which the queen demanded were immediately granted.

Lord Howard, of Effingham, a man of distinguished abilities, was appointed admiral of the fleet; and Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. A small squadron, commanded by lord Seymour, second son of the protector Somerset, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

The troops were disposed along the south coast; and a body of twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to cover the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, commanded by lord Hunsdon; and these were reserved for guarding the queen's person, and marching whithersoever the enemy should appear. Men of reflection, however, entertained the greatest apprehensions, when they considered the force of fifty thousand veteran Spaniards, under the duke of Parma, the most consummate general of the age.

The queen was sensible that next to her popularity, the firmest support of her throne consisted in the zeal of the people for the protestant religion, and their abhorrence of popery. She reminded the English of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain; and of the bloody massacres in the Indies, and the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries; and a list was published of the several instruments of torture, with which, it was pretended, the Spanish armada was loaded. The more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, she exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their God, declaring that she would rather perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. By this spirited conduct she excited the admiration of the soldiery; the attachment to her became enthusiastic; and

all swore to defend the glorious cause in which they were engaged.

The armada, after sailing from Lisbon, suffered considerably from storm ; but the damages being repaired, the Spaniards again put to sea. The fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty vessels, of which one hundred were galleons, and of larger size than any before seen in Europe. On board were upwards of thirty thousand men, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. Effingham, who was stationed at Plymouth, had just time to get out of port, when he saw the armada advancing towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from one extremity to the other. As the armada advanced up the channel, the English hung on its rear, and soon found that the largeness of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them the more to the fire of the enemy ; while their cannon, placed too high, passed over the heads of the English.

The armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor, in expectation that the duke of Parma would put to sea and join them. The English admiral, however, filling eight of his smaller ships with combustible materials, sent them one after another into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards were so much alarmed, that they immediately cut their cables, and fled with the greatest precipitation. The English, whose fleet now amounted to one hundred and forty sail, fell upon them next morning while in confusion ; and, besides doing great damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

The Spanish admiral, defeated in many rencounters, and perceiving the inevitable destruction of his fleet, prepared to return homewards ; but conducting his shattered ships by the circuitous route of Scotland and Ireland, a violent tempest overtook them near the Orkneys. Many of the vessels were wrecked on the western isles of Scotland, and on the coast of Ireland ; and not one half of this mighty armament returned to Spain.

The discomfiture of the armada begat in the nation a kind of enthusiastic passion for enterprises against Spain ; and ships were hired, as well as arms provided, at the expense of the adventurers. Among those who signalized themselves in these expeditions, were

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1588

Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Drake and Norris, Grenville, Howard, and the earls of Essex and Cumberland.

The war in the Netherlands still continued; and the king of Navarre, a protestant, ascending the throne of France by the title of Henry IV., a great part of the nobility immediately deserted him, and the king of Spain entertained views either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In this emergency, Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, who sent him aid both in men and money; and the English auxiliaries acquired a great reputation in several enterprises, and revived in France the fame of their ancient valour.

The war did great injury to Spain; but it was attended with considerable expense to England; and the queen summoned a parliament in order to obtain a supply. However, it is evident that Elizabeth either thought her authority so established as to need no concessions in return, or she rated her prerogative above money. When sir Edward Coke, the speaker, made to her the then three usual requests of freedom from arrests, access to her person, and liberty of speech, she declared that she would not impeach the freedom of their persons, nor refuse them access to her, provided it were upon urgent occasions, and when she was at leisure from other important affairs; but that they were not to speak every one what he listeth, and that the privilege of speech extended no farther than a liberty of ay or no.

Henry IV. renounced the protestant religion, and was received by the prelates of his party into the catholic church; and Elizabeth assisted that monarch to break the league which had been formed against him, and which, after his conversion to popery, gradually dissolved.

Though the queen made war against Philip in France and the Low Countries, yet the severest blows which he received from England, proceeded from naval enterprises. James Lancaster, with three ships and a pinnace, took thirty-nine Spanish ships, sacked Fernambouc on the coast of Brazil, and brought home a great quantity of treasure. Sir Walter Raleigh was less successful in an expedition to Guiana, a country which he undertook to explore at his own expense. Sir Francis Drake engaged in an enterprise against Panama; and the Spaniards obliged the English to return without effecting

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1594

any thing ; and Drake, from the vexation of this disappointment, was seized with a distemper, of which he died.

This unsuccessful enterprise in America determined the English to attack the Spanish dominions in Europe. A powerful fleet of one hundred and seventy vessels, carrying upwards of seven thousand soldiers, besides Dutch auxiliaries, set sail from Plymouth ; and after a fruitless attempt to land at St. Sebastian, on the western side of Cadiz, resolved to attack the ships and galleys in the bay. This attempt was deemed rash ; but the earl of Essex strenuously recommended the enterprise. Effingham, the commander in chief, appointed sir Walter Raleigh, and lord Thomas Howard, to lead the van ; but Essex, contrary to the injunctions of the admiral, pressed forward into the thickest of the fight ; and landing his men at the fort of Puntal, he immediately marched to Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the English soon carried, sword in hand. The generosity of Essex, not inferior to his valour, induced him to stop the slaughter. The English obtained immense plunder ; but they missed a much greater, by the Spanish admiral setting fire to the ships, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed that the loss which the Spaniards sustained by this enterprise amounted to twenty millions of ducats.

The king of France concluded a peace with Spain ; and the queen knew that she could finish the war on equitable terms with Philip. Burleigh advised her to embrace pacific measures ; but Essex, whose passion for glory rendered him desirous that the war should continue, urged that her majesty had no reason to fear the issue of the contest, and that it would be dishonourable in her to desert the Hollanders, till their affairs were placed in greater security. The advice of Essex was more agreeable to Elizabeth ; and the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendant over the minister. Had he, indeed, been endued with caution and temper, he might soon have engrossed the entire confidence of his mistress ; but his lofty spirit could ill submit to implicit deference ; and in a dispute with the queen, he was so heated by the argument, and so entirely forgetful of the rules both of civility and duty, that he turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Elizabeth, naturally prone to anger, instantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a passionate ex-

pression suitable to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submission due to her sex and station, Essex clapped his hand on his sword, swore that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry the Eighth himself, and immediately withdrew from court.

The queen's partiality, however, soon reinstated him in his former favour; and the death of Burleigh, equally regretted by his sovereign and the people, seemed to ensure him the confidence of Elizabeth.

Soon after the death of this wise and faithful minister, Philip the Second expired at Madrid. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, had transferred to his daughter, married to the archduke Albert, the title to the Low Countries; but the States considered this deed only as the change of a name; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate against the progress of Albert, as they had done against that of Philip.

The authority of the English in the affairs of Ireland had hitherto been little more than nominal. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and enemies; and the treatment which they experienced rendered them such, and made them daily become more untractable and more dangerous. Insurrections and rebellions had been frequent in Ireland; and Elizabeth tried several expedients for reducing that country to greater order and submission; but these expedients were unsuccessful, and Ireland became formidable to the English.

Hugh O'Neale, who had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone, embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and entered into a correspondence with Spain, whence he procured a supply of arms and ammunition. A victory obtained over sir Henry Bagnal, who had advanced to relieve a fort besieged by the rebels, raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country. The English council were now sensible that the rebellion of Ireland should be opposed by vigorous measures; and the queen appointed Essex governor of the

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1599

country, by the title of lord-lieutenant, and gave him the command of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse.

On his landing at Dublin, Essex was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterprise. Instead of leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the chief enemy, he wasted the season of action in reducing Munster; and when he assembled his troops for an expedition into Ulster, the army was so averse to this enterprise, and so terrified with the reputation of the Irish rebel, that many of them counterfeited sickness, and many of them deserted. Convinced that it would be impossible for him to effect any thing against an enemy who, though superior in number, was determined to avoid a decisive action, Essex hearkened to a message sent him by Tyrone for a conference. The generals met without any of their attendants; a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle; but Essex stood on the opposite bank. A cessation of arms was concluded till the next spring, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broken by either party on giving a fortnight's notice. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals of peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable conditions; and, it was afterwards suspected, that he had commenced a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy.

Elizabeth was highly provoked at the unexpected issue of this great and expensive enterprise; and Essex, informed of the queen's anger, set out for England, and arrived at court before any one was apprised of his intentions. Though covered with dirt and sweat, he hastened to the presence-chamber, and thence to the privy-chamber; nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed chamber, who had just risen. After some private conversation with her, he retired with great satisfaction; but, though the queen had thus been taken by surprise, she ordered him to be confined to his chamber, and to be twice examined by the council.

Essex professed an entire submission to the queen's will, and declared his intention of retiring into the country, remote from the court and business: but, though he affected to be cured of his ambition, the vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, threw him into a distemper which seemed to endanger his

life. The queen, alarmed with his situation, ordered her physicians to attend him, and also to deliver him a message, which was probably more efficacious in promoting his recovery, than any medicines that could be prescribed. After some interval, Elizabeth allowed her favourite to retire to his own house, where, in the company of his countess, he passed his time in the pursuits of elegant literature.

Essex possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was nearly expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it; but Elizabeth, whose temper was somewhat haughty and severe, denied his request. Essex, whose patience was exhausted, burst at once all restraints of prudence; and observed, that "the queen was now grown an old woman, and became as crooked in her mind as her body." Some court ladies carried this story to the queen, who was highly incensed against him; but his secret applications to the king of Scots, her heir and successor, were still more provoking to Elizabeth than the sarcasm of her age and deformity. James, however, disapproved of any violent method of extorting from the queen an immediate declaration of his right of succession; and Essex, disappointed in his project, formed a select council of malcontents at Drury-house, where he deliberated with them concerning the method of taking arms, chiefly for the purpose of removing his enemies and settling a new plan of government.

Receiving a summons to attend the council at the treasurer's house, Essex concluded that the conspiracy was discovered, or at least suspected. He, therefore, rashly sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking swords; and in his way to the city, he cried aloud, "for the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but though he told them that England was sold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm instantly, no one showed a disposition to join him. Essex, observing the coldness of the citizens, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to despair of success, and forced his way to his own house; where he appeared determined to defend himself to the last extremity; but after some parley, he surrendered at discretion.

He and his friend, the earl of Southampton, were ar-

raigned before a jury of twenty-five peers. The guilt of the prisoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt. When sentence was pronounced, Essex spoke like a man who expected nothing but death; but Southampton's behaviour was more mild and inoffensive, and he excited the compassion of all the peers.

After Essex had passed some days in the solitude and reflection of a prison, his proud heart was at last subdued, not by the fear of death, but by the sentiments of religion; and he gave in to the council an account of all his criminal designs, as well as of his correspondence with the king of Scots. The present situation of Essex excited all the tender affections of Elizabeth; she signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness; but as he made no application to her for mercy, she finally gave her consent to his execution. Essex was only thirty-four years of age, when his rashness, imprudence, and violence, brought him to this untimely end. Some of his associates were tried, condemned, and executed; but Southampton was saved with great difficulty, though he was detained in prison during the remainder of this reign.

In Ireland, Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex, had effected the defeat of Tyrone, and the expulsion of the Spaniards. Many of the chieftains, after concealing themselves during some time in woods and morasses, submitted to the mercy of the deputy. Tyrone himself, after an

unsuccessful application to be received on terms,
 A. D. 1603 surrendered unconditionally to Mountjoy, who intended to bring him a captive to England. But

Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event. Some incidents had happened which revived her tenderness for Essex, and filled her with the greatest sorrow. After his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, she had given him a ring as a pledge of her affection; and assuring him that into whatever disgrace he might fall, if he sent her that ring, she would afford him a patient hearing, and lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, had reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to try the experiment, and committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen.

The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, ascribing the neglect to his invincible obstinacy, at last signed the warrant for his execution. The countess falling into a dangerous sickness, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen burst into a furious passion; and shaking the dying countess in her bed, cried out, "God may pardon you, but I never can."

From that moment, Elizabeth resigned herself to the deepest and most incurable melancholy; she even refused food and medicine; and throwing herself on the floor, she remained there ten days and as many nights, declaring life an insufferable burthen to her, and uttering chiefly groans and sighs. Her anxious mind had so long preyed on her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching; and the council being assembled, commissioned the lord-keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her majesty's pleasure with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that, "she had held a regal sceptre, and desired no other than a royal successor." Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined, that "she would have a king to succeed her, and who should that be, but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots?" Soon after, her voice failed, and her senses were lost; and falling into a lethargic slumber, she gently expired, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

So dark was the cloud which overspread the evening of that day, whose meridian splendour dazzled the eyes of Europe. The vigour, firmness, penetration, and address of Elizabeth, have not been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne; but a conduct less imperious, more sincere, and more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a complete character. Her heroism was exempt from rashness, her frugality from avarice, and her activity from the turbulence of ambition; but the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger, were infirmities from which she guarded not herself with equal care or equal success. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive

capacity ; but we perceive a want of that softness of disposition, that lenity of temper, and those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished and adorned. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances ; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success. Her wise ministers and brave warriors share the praise of her success ; but, instead of lessening, they increased the applause which she justly deserves. They owed their advancement to her judgment and discrimination.

The maxims of her government were highly arbitrary ; but these were transmitted to her by her predecessors ; and she believed that her subjects were entitled to no more liberty than their ancestors had enjoyed. A well regulated constitutional balance was not yet established ; and it was not without many severe struggles, and some dreadful convulsions, that the people were allowed the blessings of liberty.

CHAP. XIII.

Reign of James I.

THE crown of England passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart with the utmost tranquility. In James's journey from Edinburgh to London, all ranks flock-
 A. D. 1603 ed around him, allured by the interest of curiosity ; and he was so well pleased with the flow of affection which appeared in his new subjects, that in six weeks after his entrance into the kingdom, he conferred the honour of knighthood on no fewer than two hundred and thirty-seven persons, besides raising several from inferior to higher dignities ; and among the rest, the Scottish courtiers were thought to be especially favoured.

It must be confessed, however, that James left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and intrusted the conduct of political concerns to his English subjects. Among these, Cecil was successively created lord Effingdon, viscount Cranbourne, and earl of Salisbury, and regarded as prime minister and chief counsellor. A secret correspondence into which he had entered with James, during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, laid the foundation of Cecil's credit ; and while all his former associates, sir Walter Raleigh, lord Gray, and lord Cob-

ham, were discountenanced on account of their animosity against Essex, this minister was continued in his employment, and treated with the greatest confidence and regard.

Amidst the great tranquility, both foreign and domestic, which the nation enjoyed, nothing could be more unexpected than the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to place on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king's, and equally descended from Henry the Seventh. Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the principals in the plot, contrary to all laws and equity, was found guilty by a jury; but he was reprieved, not pardoned: and he remained in confinement for many years.

The religious disputes between the church and the puritans, which had been continually increasing ever since the reformation, induced the king to call a conference at Hampton-court, on pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile both parties. The disposi-^{A. D.}tion of James, however, had received a strong bias ¹⁶⁰⁴ against the puritanical clergy in Scotland; and he showed the greatest propensity to the established church, and frequently inculcated as a maxim, NO BISHOP, NO KING.

The severe, though popular government of Elizabeth, had confined the rising spirit of liberty within very narrow bounds; but when a new and foreign family succeeded to the throne, and a prince less dreaded and less beloved, principles of a more independent nature appeared in the nation. The king, however, told the parliament, "that all their privileges were derived from his grant, and hoped they would not turn them against him." James, of his own accord, annulled all the numerous patents for monopolies; but the exclusive companies still remained, and almost all the commerce of England centered in London, the trade of which was confined to about two hundred citizens.

One of the most memorable events recorded in history is the "Gunpowder Plot." The Roman catholics had expected great favour from James; and they were surprised and enraged to find that, on all occasions, he expressed his intention of strictly executing the laws against them. Catesby, a gentleman of an ancient family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge, which was to destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the lords, and the commons, by running a mine below the hall in which the parliament assembled, and choosing the very

moment in which the king harangued both houses. This diabolical scheme he communicated to Percy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland, who was charmed with the project; and they agreed cautiously to enlist some other conspirators, and sent over to Flanders in quest of one Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage they were well acquainted.

The conspirators bound themselves by oath of secrecy, which they confirmed by receiving the sacrament together; and they hired a house in the name of Percy, adjoining that in which the parliament assembled. Finding that a vault under the house of lords was to let, they seized the opportunity of renting it, and deposited in it thirty-
 A. D. 1605 six barrels of powder, which they covered with faggots and billet-wood. The doors of the cellar were then boldly thrown open, as if it contained nothing dangerous, and, confident of success, the conspirators now planned the remaining part of their project.

The king, the queen, and prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament; but as the duke, by reason of his tender age, would necessarily be absent, it was resolved to assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire; and it was determined to seize that princess and proclaim her queen.

Though more than twenty persons were engaged in this conspiracy, the dreadful secret had been sacredly kept nearly a year and a half. No remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, or hope of reward, had induced any conspirator either to abandon the enterprise, or discover the plot. A few days, however, before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic, and son to lord Morley, received the following letter, from an unknown hand.*

“ My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance in this parliament. For God

* There is strong reason to believe that this letter was sent by Mary, eldest daughter of lord Morley, sister to lord Monteagle, and wife of Thomas Abington, Esq. of Henslip, in the county of Worcester. Affection for her brother prompted the warning, while love for her husband, who was privy to the conspiracy, suggested such means as were best calculated to prevent his detection.

Discovery of Guy Fawkes.

Death of Richard the Third.

and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past, as soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commend you."

Monteagle, as well as Salisbury, to whom he communicated it, considered the letter as a foolish attempt to frighten; but, from the serious and earnest manner in which it was written, James conjectured that it implied something dangerous and important; and the enigmatical but strong expressions used in the epistle, seemed to denote some contrivance by gunpowder.* In consequence, it was determined to inspect all the vaults under the house of parliament; but the search was purposely delayed till the day before the meeting of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who remarked the great piles of wood and faggots in the vault under the upper house; and he observed Fawkes in a corner, who passed himself as Percy's servant. About midnight, sir Thomas Knevet, with proper attendants, entered the vault; and after seizing Fawkes, he removed the faggots, and discovered the powder. The matches and other preparations for setting the whole on fire, were found in the pockets of Fawkes, who, seeing it useless to dissemble, boldly expressed his regret that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council he displayed the same intrepidity, and refused to discover his accomplices; but being confined in the tower, and left to reflect on his guilt and danger, his courage failed in a few days, and he made a full discovery of the conspirators, who never exceeded the number of eighty. They all suffered death by one way or other; and horrible as the crime was, the bigoted catholics regarded some of them as martyrs.

* James might probably be led to this conclusion from recollecting the catastrophe of his father. *Mavor.*

At this time, James seems to have possessed the affections of his English subjects and of the parliament. His learning, which was not despicable, obtained him the name of the second Solomon. All his efforts, however, for a union between England and Scotland proved ineffectual, on account of the national antipathy by which the English parliament was governed ; and he could procure only an abolition of the hostile laws which had been formerly enacted between the two kingdoms.

The house of commons began now to feel themselves of such importance, that on the motion of sir Edwin Sandys, they entered, for the first time, an order for the regular keeping of their journals.

In the following session, the lord-treasurer, Dorset, laid open the king's necessities, but the commons refused to relieve them; and James received the mortification
 A. D. 1610 of discovering in vain, all his wants, and of asking the aid of his subjects, who seemed determined to diminish the power of the crown. Inheriting all the high notions of regal government that had marked the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth, James was continually employed in endeavouring to preserve the prerogatives which former sovereigns had enjoyed, but which a more enlightened age and a less obsequious parliament deemed absolutely necessary to circumscribe. In his first parliament, which sat nearly seven years, frequent attacks were made on the royal prerogative; and the king displayed all his exalted notions of monarchy and the authority of princes; but the principles which these popular attempts developed, and which opposition served only to increase, at last overturned the throne, and plunged the nation into confusion.

In promoting the civilization of Ireland, James proceeded on a regular and well concerted plan; and he found it necessary to abolish the ancient customs, which supplied the place of laws. By the Brehen custom, every crime, however enormous, was punished by a pecuniary fine. This rate was called eric. When the English had formed the design of sending a sheriff into Fermanagh, Maguire, a chief of that district, replied, "Your sheriff shall be welcome to me; but let me know beforehand his eric, or the price of his head, that if my people cut it off, I may levy the money on the county." Small offences were subject to no penalty; and in this horrible state of society, the efforts of

James to produce amelioration were highly deserving of praise. In the room of savage institutions, he substituted English laws ; took the natives under his protection, and declared them free citizens ; and governed the kingdom by a regular administration, military as well as civil.

This year, the sudden death of Henry, prince of Wales, in the eighteenth year of his age, diffused a general grief throughout the nation. Neither his high birth nor his youth had seduced him into any irregularities ; ^{A. D.} 1612 business and ambition were his sole delight ; and his inclinations as well as exercises were martial. The French ambassador, taking leave of him, and asking his commands for France, found him employed in the exercise of the pike : " Tell your king," said he, " in what occupation you left me engaged." He had conceived great affection and esteem for sir Walter Raleigh, who was prisoner in the tower. " Surely," observed he, " no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage."

The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with Frederic, elector palatine, served to dissipate the grief which arose from that melancholy event ; but this marriage, though happy to the nation in its remote and ultimate consequences, was unfortunate both to the king and his son-in-law. The elector, trusting to so great an alliance, engaged in enterprises beyond his strength ; and the king not being able to support him in his pretensions, lost entirely, towards the end of his life, the affection and esteem of his own subjects.

The history of this reign is more properly a history of the court than of the nation. About the end of the year 1609, Robert Carre, a youth of twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, arrived in London, and was introduced to the English court. The charms of his person and the elegance of his manners soon won the affections of James, who successively knighted him, created him viscount Rochester, and gave him the garter. In sir Thomas Overbury, this minion met with a judicious and sincere counsellor ; and so long as he was governed by his friendly counsels, he enjoyed the highest favour of his sovereign, without being hated by the people. Intoxicated, however, by his good fortune, Rochester found means to seduce the affections of the young countess of Essex, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, though she rejected the

embraces of her husband ; and in spite of the remonstrances of Overbury, a divorce was procured, and a marriage solemnized between the two adulterers. On this occasion, the king so far forgot the dignity of his character, and his friendship to the family of Essex, that, lest the lady should lose any rank by her new marriage, he created his minion earl of Somerset.

The countess, however, was not satisfied till she could satiate her revenge on Overbury, who had been committed to the tower, at the instance of Somerset, for disobeying an order of the king. She engaged her husband, as well as her uncle, the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of destroying him secretly by poison. Fruitless attempts were reiterated by weak doses ; but at last they gave him one so sudden and violent, that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him ; and though a strong suspicion prevailed in the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light for some years after.

The fatal catastrophe of sir Thomas Overbury increased or begat a suspicion that the prince of Wales had been carried off by poison, given him by Somerset ; and the king was not spared amidst the just imputations thrown on his favourite.

A new parliament was again summoned, after every expedient had been tried to relieve the king's necessities, even to the sale of baronetages and peerages ; but
 A. D. 1614 that assembly, instead of entering on the business of supply, as urged by the king, began with disputing his majesty's power of levying new customs and impositions, by the mere authority of his prerogative. The king, with great indignation, dissolved the parliament, without obtaining the smallest supply to his necessities ; and he imprisoned some of the members, who had been most forward in their opposition to his measures ; and though he valued himself highly on his king-craft, he openly at his table inculcated those monarchical principles which he had strongly imbibed. Among other company, there sat at table two bishops, Neile and Andrews. The king publicly proposed the question, whether he might not take his subjects' money when he needed it, without all this formality of parliament ? The obsequious Neile replied, " God forbid you should not ; for you are the breath

of our nostrils." Andrews declined answering; but when the king urged him, he pleasantly observed, "I think your majesty may lawfully take my brother Neile's money, for he offers."

The favourite had hitherto escaped the inquiry of justice; but conscious of the murder of his friend, he became sullen and silent; and the king began to estrange himself from a man who no longer contributed to his amusement. The enemies of Somerset seized the opportunity of throwing a new minion in the king's way, in the person of George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, who was immediately raised to the office of cup-bearer. In the meantime, Somerset's guilt in the murder of sir Thomas Overbury was fully discovered; and James, alarmed and astonished at such enormous guilt in a man whom he had so highly honoured, recommended a most rigorous scrutiny. All the accomplices received the punishment of death; but the king bestowed a pardon on the principals, Somerset and the countess; and after some years imprisonment, he restored them to their liberty, and they languished out their old age in infamy and obscurity.

The fall of Somerset opened the way for Villiers, who, in the space of a few years, by rapid advances, was at last created duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, and lord high-admiral of England, with other honourable appointments. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham; his brother was created viscount Purbec; and a numerous train of needy relations were all invested with credit and authority.

Sir Walter Raleigh had been imprisoned for thirteen years; and men had leisure to reflect on the hardship and injustice of this sentence. They pitied his active and enterprising spirit, which languished in the rigours of confinement; and they admired his extensive genius, no less than his unbroken magnanimity. To increase these favourable dispositions, on which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, Raleigh spread the report of a ^{A. D.} rich gold mine, which he had discovered in Guiana. 1618
The king gave little credit to the tale, but released him from the tower, without pardoning him, and suffered him to try the adventure.

Raleigh had declared that the Spaniards had planted no colonies on that part of the coast where this mine lay; but

it had happened, that, in a space of twenty-three years, which had elapsed since he had last visited that region, they had formed a settlement on the river Oronoko, and built a town called St. Thomas. To this place Raleigh directly bent his course, and sent a detachment under the command of his son, and of captain Kemys, an officer entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, were repulsed, and pursued into the town. Young Raleigh received a shot, of which he immediately expired; but the town was carried, and afterwards reduced to ashes. Kemys, who owned that he was within two hours' march of the mine, returned to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his son's death; and, despairing of the success of the enterprise, he retired to his cabin, and put an end to his life.

The other adventurers now concluded, that they were deceived by Raleigh; and thinking it safest to return immediately to England, they carried him with them. The privy council pronounced that Raleigh had abused the king's confidence; and the court of Spain, raising loud complaints against him, the king made use of that power which he had purposely reserved in his own hands, and signed the warrant for the execution upon his former sentence.

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage and resolution. As he felt the edge of the axe with which he was to be beheaded, "'Tis a sharp remedy," he said, "but a sure one for all ills." His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and, with the utmost indifference, he laid his head on the block, and received the fatal blow.

The execution of this sentence, which was at first hard, and which had been so long suspended, gave general dissatisfaction; and it was rendered still more invidious and unpopular by the intimate connections entered into with Spain. Godemar, the Spanish ambassador, in order to withdraw the attention of James from Germany, had offered the second daughter of Spain in marriage to prince Charles, with an immense fortune. The bait took; and though the states of Bohemia, inspired with the love of civil and religious liberty, had taken up arms against the emperor Ferdinand, and tendered their crown to Frederic, elector palatine, probably on account of his connection

with England, James refused to lend any assistance to his son-in-law, and Frederic, being defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, was driven from the palatinate, and fled with his family into Holland.

High were now the murmurs and complaints against the inactive disposition of the king, who flattered himself, that after he had formed an intimate connection with the Spanish monarch, by means of his son's marriage, the restitution of the palatinate might be
A. D.
1620
 procured, from motives of friendship alone.

At this time the great seal was in the hands of Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, a man universally admired for the sublimity of his genius; but his want of economy, and his indulgence to servants, involved him in necessities; and he received bribes which rendered him obnoxious to censure. Being impeached by the commons, the peers sentenced him to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned in the tower during the king's pleasure, and to be for ever incapable of holding any office, place or employment. Bacon, however, was soon released from prison, the fine was remitted, and, in consideration of his great merit, a pension of eighteen hundred pounds a year was conferred upon him; and his literary productions have made his guilt or weakness be forgotten or overlooked by posterity.

In the mean time, the commons entreated his majesty, that he would immediately undertake the defence of the palatinate; that he would turn his arms against Spain; and that he would enter into negotiations for a marriage with his son only with a protestant princess. This seeming an invasion of his prerogative, highly incensed James, who, in a letter to the speaker, sharply rebuked the house for debating on matters far above their capacity, and forbade them to meddle with any subject that regarded his government. This letter inflamed the commons, who, after another ineffectual remonstrance, framed a protestation, in which they repeated all their claims for freedom of speech, and an unbounded authority to interpose with their advice and counsel. They asserted that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright of the subjects of England. This protestation the king himself tore from the journals; and after committing some of the leading members of the

house to the tower, he finally dissolved the parliament. These struggles, between prerogative on the one hand, and privilege on the other, terminated only with the overthrow of the monarchy, under the unfortunate Charles the First.

In vain did James, by reiterated proclamations, forbid the discussing of state affairs. Such proclamations, as might naturally be expected, served rather to inflame the curiosity of the public. The efforts of Frederic for the
 A. D. 1622 recovery of his dominions were vigorous, but ineffectual; and James now persuaded his son-in-law to disarm, and to trust to his negotiations. To show, however, the estimation in which James's negotiations were held abroad, in a farce acted at Brussels, a courier announced that the palatinate would soon be wrested from Austria, as succours from all quarters were hastening to the relief of the despoiled elector; the king of Denmark, he said, had agreed to contribute to his assistance one hundred thousand pickled herrings; the Dutch, one hundred thousand butter boxes; and the king of England, one hundred thousand ambassadors. On other occasions, James was depicted with a scabbard, but without a sword; or with a sword, which no one could draw, though several were pulling at it.

In order to remove all obstacles to the match between the infanta of Spain and prince Charles, James despatched the earl of Bristol to Philip IV.; all matters were adjusted, and the dispensation from Rome only was wanting, when this flattering prospect was blasted by the temerity of Buckingham.

A coolness between this favourite and the prince of Wales had taken place; and Buckingham, desirous of an opportunity which might connect him with Charles, and also envious of the great credit acquired by Bristol, proposed a journey of courtship to Madrid. The young and ardent mind of the prince eagerly embraced the scheme; and the king was prevailed on to grant his consent to the undertaking, though not without much reluctance and apprehension of the result.

The prince and Buckingham, with their attendants, passed disguised and undiscovered through France; and they even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty.

In eleven days after their departure from London, they arrived at Madrid, and surprised every one by a step so unusual among great princes. The Spanish monarch treated Charles with the utmost respect, and the most flattering attentions; but the infanta was only shown to her lover in public, the established etiquette not allowing any farther intercourse till the arrival of a dispensation from Rome. The king of England, as well as the prince, became impatient; and the latter having taken his leave, embarked on board an English fleet, and returned to England. Charles had endeared himself to the whole Spanish nation, by whom he was beloved and esteemed; while Buckingham, by his indecent freedoms and his dissolute pleasures, had rendered himself universally despised and hated. Through the intrigues of Buckingham, who dreaded the influence of the Spaniards in England after the arrival of the infanta, the match was broken off; and James was induced to abandon a project which, during many years, had been the object of his wishes, and which had been brought near to a happy conclusion.

The king, having thus involuntarily broken with Spain, was obliged to summon a parliament, in order to procure the necessary supplies; and in that assembly, Buckingham threw all the blame on the court of Spain, which he accused of artifice and insincerity. The parliament advised the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage, as that for the restitution of the palatinate. The supply, however, was voted with parsimony; and to it were annexed conditions, which trenched on the prerogative, but which at last produced legitimate liberty.

After the rupture with Spain, a treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and Henrietta of France was speedily concluded; but military enterprises were extremely disagreeable to James, whose disposition incapacitated him for war. The English nation, however, were bent on the recovery of the palatinate; and an army of twelve thousand foot and two hundred horse, under the command of count Mansfeldt, were embarked at Dover; but so ill had the expedition been concerted, that half of the troops died on board by a pestilential disorder, before they were permitted to land, and

the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared insufficient to march into the palatinate.

James, who had zealously cultivated the arts of peace, did not long survive the commencement of hostilities. He was seized with a tertian ague, and finding himself gradually becoming weaker, he sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to bear a tender regard for his wife, but to preserve a constancy in religion, to protect the church of England, and to extend his care to the unhappy family of the palatine. With decency and fortitude he prepared himself for his end; and he died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after a reign over England of twenty-two years and some days.

In the annals of nations, it would be difficult to find a reign less illustrious, yet more unspotted and unblemished, than that of James. No prince so little enterprising and so inoffensive, was ever so much exposed to the opposite extremes of calumny and praise; and his character has been much disputed even in the present time. It must be owned, however, that he possessed many virtues, though scarcely one of them was free from the contagion of the neighbouring vice. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, and his wisdom on cunning. While he imagined that he was only maintaining his own authority, he may perhaps be suspected of having somewhat encroached on the liberties of the people. His intentions were just, but more adapted to the conduct of private life, than to the government of kingdoms.

He was married to Anne of Denmark, who died in 1619, eminent neither for her vices nor her virtues; and he left only one son, Charles, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the elector palatine.

At this period, high pride of family prevailed; and great riches acquired by commerce, were rare. Civil honours, which now hold the first place, were then subordinate to the military; and the young gentry and nobility were fond of distinguishing themselves by arms. The country life, which still prevails in England to a certain degree, was just beginning to give way to a fondness for the seducements of the city; and James discouraged as much as possible this alteration of manners. "He was wont to be very earnest," lord Bacon tells us, "with the country gen-

lemen to go from London to their country seats; and sometimes he would say to them, Gentlemen, at London you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages, you are like ships in a river, which look like great things."

The amount of the king's revenue in this reign was about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and his ordinary disbursements are said to have exceeded this sum thirty-six thousand pounds.

CHAP. XIV.

The reign of Charles I.

No sooner had Charles assumed the reins of government, than he issued writs for summoning a new parliament, which, after the arrival of the princess Henrietta, whom he had espoused by proxy, assembled at Westminster. The young prince addressed them in the language of simplicity and cordiality; but the commons, though aware of the expenses of government, and that the war was undertaken in compliance with their earnest entreaties, granted a supply of one hundred and twelve thousand pounds only. The puritanical party were disgusted with the court, on account of the restraints under which they were held, and of the favour suspected to be granted to the catholics by the treaty of marriage. To the moderate supplies allowed by parliament, were tacked concessions in favour of civil liberty; and Charles, who had imbibed high ideas of monarchical power, and of the prerogative of the crown, could ill brook any encroachments on his authority, or any want of attention to his reasonable demands.

Though he condescended to employ entreaties with the parliament, in order to obtain the necessary aid, the commons remained inexorable; and a new discovery inflamed them against the court and the duke of Buckingham. When James courted the alliance with France, he had promised to furnish Lewis with eight ships, which were to be employed against the Genoese, the allies of Spain; but when the vessels by the orders of Charles arrived at Dieppe, a strong suspicion arose that they were intended to serve against the Hugonots of Rochelle. The sailors were inflamed; and Pennington, their commander, de-

clared, that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience, than fight against his brother protestants in France. The whole squadron sailed immediately to the Downs, where they received new orders from Buckingham, lord admiral, to return to Dieppe; and a report was industriously spread, that a peace had been concluded between the French king and the Hugonots. When they arrived at Dieppe, they found themselves deceived, and again returned to England, notwithstanding the magnificent offers of the French.

On this occasion, the commons renewed their complaints against the growth of popery; and Charles gave a gracious and compliant answer to their remonstrances; but when he found that the parliament was resolved to grant him no supply, he used the pretence of the plague to dissolve the assembly.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had recourse to the unconstitutional and unpopular expedient of issuing privy-seals, for borrowing money of his subjects; and, by means of the money thus procured, he equipped a fleet of eighty vessels, carrying ten thousand men, which sailed to Cadiz under sir Edward Cecil, lately created viscount Wimbleton. The bay was full of Spanish ships of great value; but owing to some neglect or misconduct, and the plague breaking out among the seamen and soldiers, the fleet was obliged to return to England without effecting any thing.

Charles having failed in this enterprise, was again obliged to have recourse to a parliament; and though
 A. D. 1626 he had nominated four popular leaders, to be sheriffs of their respective counties, and by that means had incapacitated them from being elected members, the ferment of opposition still continued. The commons, indeed, voted a supply; but the passing of that vote into a law was reserved till the end of the session; and they annexed a condition, that they should be allowed to regulate and control every part of the government which displeased them. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by Charles at this treatment; but his urgent necessities obliged him to submit.

The duke of Buckingham, formerly obnoxious to the public, became every day more unpopular; and the house of commons impeached him of various crimes and misde-

meanours. While the commons were thus engaged, the lord-keeper, in the king's name, expressly commanded the house not to meddle with Buckingham; and Charles threatened them, that if they did not furnish him with supplies, he should be obliged to try new counsels. Two members, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment, were thrown into prison. The commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther upon business till they had satisfaction in their privileges. Charles was obliged to release the imprisoned members; and this attempt served only to exasperate the house still more. The commons were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, when the king, with intemperate haste, ended the session; and they parted in mutual ill humour.

The new counsels, with which Charles had menaced the parliament, were now adopted: a commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them; from the nobility, assistance was requested, and from the city, a loan required; and the maritime towns, with the aid of the adjacent counties, were compelled to equip a certain number of ships. This is the first appearance in Charles' reign of ship-money, a mode of taxation which afterwards produced such violent discontents.

Though these irregular and unequal expedients would have given disgust in more tranquil times, yet Charles proceeded in these invidious methods with some degree of moderation, till at last, under the name of a general loan, he levied a sum equal to four subsidies. Many, however, refused these loans; and some were even active in encouraging others to insist on their common rights and privileges. Several were thrown into prison by warrant of the council. Of these, sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Hevingham, and sir Edmund Hampden, had spirit enough, at their own hazard and expense, to defend the public liberties, and to demand releasement, not as a favour from the court, but as a matter of right:

The question was brought to a solemn trial before the court of King's Bench; but though sir Randolph Crew, chief justice, had been displaced as unfit for the purposes of the court, and sir Nicholas Hyde, esteemed more obse-

quious, had obtained that high office, yet the judges went no farther than to remand the gentlemen to prison, and to refuse the bail which was offered. The nation, indeed, was already exasperated to a very high degree, by a variety of real grievances; and except a few courtiers and ecclesiastics, all men were dissatisfied with the measures of government, and thought that if some remedy were not speedily adopted, all hopes of preserving the freedom of the constitution might be abandoned.

Great, however, was the surprise, when Charles, though baffled in every attempt against Austria, embroiled with his own subjects, and unsupplied with any treasure except what he extorted by the most invidious and most dangerous measures, wantonly attacked France, the other great kingdom in his neighbourhood. This rash action is ascribed to the counsels of Buckingham.

When Charles married by proxy the princess Henrietta, this minister and minion had been sent to France, to grace the nuptials, and conduct the new queen into England. The beauty of his person, the elegance of his manners, and the splendour of his equipage, occasioned general admiration. Encouraged by the smiles of the court, he carried his addresses to the queen of Lewis; and, after his departure, he secretly returned, and visiting the queen, was dismissed with a reproof which savoured more of kindness than of anger. The vigilance of Richelieu soon discovered this correspondence; and when the duke was making preparations for a new embassy to Paris, a message was sent him, that his presence would not be agreeable. In a romantic fit of passion, he swore, "that he would see the queen in spite of all the power of France;" and from that moment, he determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom.

He first took advantage of some quarrels excited by the queen of England's attendants; and he persuaded Charles to dismiss all her French servants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty. He encouraged the English ships of war and privateers to seize vessels belonging to French merchants, and these he forthwith condemned as prizes, by a sentence of the court of admiralty; but finding that these injuries produced only remonstrances, or at most reprisals, on the part of France, he resolved to second the

intrigues of the duke of Soubize, and to undertake a military expedition against that kingdom.

Soubize, and his brother, the duke of Rohan, were the leaders of the Hugonot faction, and strongly solicited the assistance of Charles. Accordingly, a fleet of one hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men, were entrusted to the command of Buckingham; but when the fleet appeared before Rochelle, the inhabitants of that city refused to admit allies of whose arrival they had received no previous information, and Buckingham sailed to the isle of Rhe, where he landed his men. He finally returned to England with the loss of two thirds of his land forces, and with no other credit than the vulgar one of courage and personal bravery.

Great discontents, as might be expected, prevailed among the English people. Their liberties were menaced; illegal taxes extorted; their commerce, which had been already injured, was totally annihilated by the French war; the military reputation of the nation had been tarnished by two unsuccessful and ill conducted expeditions; and all these calamities were ascribed to the obstinacy of Charles, in adhering to the counsels of Buckingham, whose services and abilities by no means deserved such unlimited confidence.

In this situation of men's minds, the king and the duke dreaded the assembling of a parliament; but the money levied, or rather extorted, under colour of ^{A. D.} prerogative, had been very slowly procured, and ¹⁶²⁸ had occasioned much ill humour in the nation; and as it appeared dangerous to renew the experiment, and a supply was absolutely necessary, it was resolved to call a parliament. When the commons assembled, it was soon found that they were men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and that the resentment for past injuries was neither weakened nor forgotten. The court party did not pretend to defend the late measures in order to procure money, except on the ground of necessity, to which the king had been reduced by the conduct of the two former parliaments; and a vote was passed, without opposition, against arbitrary imprisonments and forced loans. In return for this concession, a supply of five subsidies was voted, with which the king declared himself

satisfied; and even tears of affection started in his eye, when he was informed of this liberality.

But the supply, though voted, was not immediately passed into a law; and the commons resolved to employ the interval in providing some barriers to their rights and liberties, so lately violated. They enumerated all the encroachments that had been made on their constitutional liberties, under the name of a "petition of right;" and against these grievances an eternal remedy was to be provided. The terms in which this petition was expressed, seem to have been just and reasonable, yet favourable to public freedom; but Charles, though he had given his consent to any law for securing the rights and liberties of the people, had not expected such inroads on the prerogative, in regard to which he was a great stickler; and it was not without much difficulty, and many evasions, that the royal assent was obtained to a measure which diffused a general joy through the nation.

Nothing tended more to excuse, if not justify, the extreme rigour of the commons towards Charles, than his open encouragement and avowal of principles incompatible with a limited government. One doctor Mainwaring had preached and printed a sermon subversive of all civil liberty; and the commons impeached him for the doctrines it contained. Mainwaring was sentenced by the peers to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house, to be fined a thousand pounds, to be suspended for three years, and to be rendered incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office. However, no sooner was the session ended, than Mainwaring was pardoned, and promoted to a living of considerable value, and, some years after, raised to the see of St. Asaph. This action sufficiently showed the insincerity of Charles in his late concessions.

If, however, the king had been perfectly sincere in sanctioning the petition of right, it was evident that the commons would still have been dissatisfied. They continued to carry their scrutiny into every part of government; and they expressly declared, that the levying of tennage and poundage without consent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the petition of right. In order to prevent the presenting of this remonstrance, the

king came suddenly to the parliament, and ended the session by a prorogation.

Freed from the vexation of this assembly, Charles began to look towards foreign wars. A considerable fleet and army had been prepared for the relief of Rochelle, and Buckingham had gone to Portsmouth, to hasten the sailing of the armament. Whilst at that place, one Felton, of an ardent and melancholy mind, who had served under the duke, and had retired in discontent from the army, inflamed with private resentment, and taught by a remonstrance of the commons to consider Buckingham as the cause of every national grievance, fancied that he should do heaven acceptable service, by despatching this foe to religion and to his country. Accordingly, as the duke, in a narrow passage, was engaged in conversation with colonel sir Thomas Fyar, he was on a sudden, over sir Thomas's shoulder, struck on the breast with a knife, which he pulled out, saying, "the villain has killed me," and with these words breathed his last.

No one had seen the blow, nor the person who inflicted it; but near the door was found a hat, in which were four or five lines of the remonstrance of the commons, declaring Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and it was readily concluded that this hat belonged to the assassin. In this confusion, a person without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door; and one crying out, "here is the fellow who killed the duke," every body ran to ask, "which is he?" on which Felton answered, "I am he." When questioned at whose instigation he had committed the horrid deed, he replied, that no man living had credit enough with him, to have disposed him to such an action, and that believing he should perish in the attempt, his motives would appear in his hat.

Charles received the melancholy news of the death of his favourite with an unmoved countenance; but he retained during his whole life an affection for Buckingham's friends, and a prejudice against his enemies. Meanwhile, the distress of Rochelle had raised to the utmost extremity; and the English being unable to relieve the place, the inhabitants, pressed by famine, were obliged to surrender at discretion.

Though for more than a century the duties of tonnage

A. D.
1629 and poundage had been considered as the king's due, without the sanction of parliament, and had been so levied, yet Charles, now freed from the violent counsels of Buckingham, in the opening of this session, informed the commons, that he had not taken these duties as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative, but as a gift of his people, and that he had levied tonnage and poundage out of necessity, and not by any right he assumed. This concession gave a temporary satisfaction; but the commons could not be pleased; and as soon as they had obtained one point, they immediately found another to contend for. Matters of religion now formed the only grievance to which, in their opinion, they had not applied a sufficient remedy by their petition of right. The present house of commons, like all the preceding, in the present and two former reigns, was governed by the puritanical party; and they thought that they could not better serve their cause, than by stigmatizing and punishing the followers of Armenius, some of whom, by the indulgence of James and Charles, had attained the highest preferments in the hierarchy. Laud, Neile, Montague, and other bishops, who were the chief supporters of episcopacy, were also supposed to be tainted with arminianism. These men were regarded by the puritans as objects of enmity and distrust, as well on account of their political as their religious principles; but they were protected by Charles, who wisely considered, that the most solid basis of his authority consisted in the support which he received from the hierarchy.

Sir John Elliott framed a remonstrance against levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament; but when the question was called for, sir John Finch, the speaker, said, "that he had a command from the king to adjourn," and immediately rose and left the chair. The whole house was in an uproar; and the speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation. By it, papists and arminians were declared capital enemies to the commonwealth; and those who levied, and even those who paid tonnage and poundage, were branded with the same epithet. By the king's order, the mace was taken from the table, and thus ended their proceedings; and a few days after, the parliament

was dissolved. Sir Miles Hobart, sir Peter Hayman, Seldon, Coriton, Long, and Strode, were committed to prison, on account of the last tumult in the house, which was called sedition; and it was with great difficulty, and after several delays, that they obtained their release. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were condemned by the court of King's Bench, for their seditious speeches and behaviour in parliament, to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and to pay heavy fines. These gloried in their sufferings, and would not condescend to petition the king, and express their sorrow, though promised liberty on that condition; and Elliot, happening to die while in custody, was regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England.

Charles, destitute of all regular supply, was reduced to the necessity of concluding a peace with France and Spain. No conditions were made in favour of the palatine, except that Spain promised in general to use its ^{A. D.} good offices for his restoration. ¹⁶³⁰ The influence of these two wars on domestic affairs, and on the dispositions of the king and people, was of the utmost consequence; but they caused no alteration in the foreign interests of the kingdom, which were at this time in the most prosperous condition.

After the death of Buckingham, the queen may be considered as the chief friend and favourite of Charles. By her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the partiality of her husband; but her religion, to which she was much attached, increased the jealousy which prevailed against the catholics and the court.

Charles had endeavoured to gain the popular leaders, by conferring offices upon them; but the views of the king were so repugnant to those of the puritans, that the leaders whom he gained, lost from that moment all influence with their party. This was the case with sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the king had afterwards created earl of Strafford, made president of the council of York, and deputy of Ireland, and who was regarded as his chief minister and counsellor. By his eminent talents and abilities, Strafford merited all the confidence which his master reposed in him; but as he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he had formerly endeavoured to diminish, he was detested by the puritans. In

all ecclesiastical affairs, Laud, bishop of London, had the greatest influence over the king. He was a man of virtue and talents; but he wanted prudence, and a flexibility of character, to open a way through difficulties and oppositions. His whole study was to exalt the dignity of the priesthood; but he weakly imagined, that this would be best effected by the introduction of new ceremonies and observances, and a strict regard to the external forms of religion; and the discontented puritans affected to consider the church of England as relapsing fast into Romish superstition. Certain, however, it is, that Laud magnified, on every occasion, the regal authority, and treated with disdain all pretensions to a free constitution.

Charles issued a proclamation, declaring, that "though his majesty has shown, by frequent meetings with his people, his love to the use of parliaments; yet the late abuse having, for the present, driven him unwillingly out of that course, he will account it presumption for any one to prescribe to him any time for the calling of that assembly." This was generally considered as a declaration, that Charles did not intend to summon any more parliaments; and every measure of the king's tended to confirm this suspicion, so disagreeable to the people.

Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by the royal authority alone; and the king had recourse to various unconstitutional expedients of raising money by virtue of his prerogative, in every possible way, contrary not only to the rights of the people, but in many instances also in direct opposition to their general feelings and prejudices. The severities of the star-chamber and high commission court were revived, with all their force and malignity; and being exercised against those who were the champions of freedom, and who triumphed in their sufferings, the government became still more odious. Prynne, a barrister, having written a book, intituled *Histrio-Mastix*, in which he censured not only stage-plays, music and dancing, but also hunting, public festivals, christmas-keeping, bonfires, and May-poles, was indicted in the star-chamber as a libeller, merely because the king and queen frequented the theatres, and the queen sometimes acted a part in pastorals and interludes represented at court. The star-chamber sentenced him to lose both his ears, to stand in the pillory, to pay a fine of five thou-

sand pounds, and to be imprisoned during life. This man was a champion among the puritans ; and it was probably with a view of mortifying that sect, that he was condemned to such a severe and ignominious punishment.

Charles made a journey to Scotland, attended by the court, in order to hold a parliament there, and to pass through the ceremony of his coronation. A. D. 1633
After his return, on the death of archbishop Abbot, he conferred the see of Canterbury on Laud, and that of London on Vuxton, a person of great integrity, mildness, and humanity.

Ship-money was now levied by virtue of the prerogative ; and though the amount of the whole tax little exceeded two hundred thousand pounds, and was equally assessed, and entirely expended on the A. D. 1634
navy, yet as it was wholly arbitrary, the discontents it excited, and the irregular means by which it was enforced, produced the most important consequences. The good effects of a navy, however, were soon apparent. A fleet of sixty sail attacked the herring fisheries of the Dutch, who consented to pay thirty thousand pounds for a license for one year ; and a squadron was sent against Sallee, and destroyed that receptacle of pirates, by whom the English commerce, and even the English coasts, had been long infested.

Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried in the star-chamber for seditious and schismatical libels, and condemned to the same punishment as Prynne. The rigours of the star-chamber, which had increased in severity since the promotion of Laud, induced the leaders of the puritans to endeavour to ship themselves off for America, where others of their sect had laid the foundation of a free government ; but the council, dreading the consequences of a disaffected colony, a proclamation was issued to prevent their sailing ; and thus sir Arthur Haselrig, John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, were detained in England, after having embarked on board of vessels in the river Thames, for the purpose of abandoning their native country for ever.

It would be impossible, in this short work, to enter into a detail of the various means employed for abridging or destroying the few remaining liberties of the people. It may be sufficient to observe, that the unconstitutional acts

of Charles, and the oppression which was universally felt, produced murmurs and complaints, and at length resistance.

John Hampden, who had been detained in England against his will, has deserved well of his country for the bold stand which he made in defence of its laws and liberties. Rather than tamely submit to so illegal an imposition as the levying of ship money, he resolved to abide the event of a legal prosecution, though the sum in which he was rated did not exceed twenty shillings. The case was argued during twelve days, in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the attention of the nation was strongly excited to every circumstance of this celebrated trial. The event was easily foreseen; the prejudiced judges, with the exception of four of them, gave sentence in favour of the crown. Hampden, however, obtained by the trial the end for which he had generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet; the people were roused from their lethargy, and became fully sensible of the danger to which their liberties were exposed.

In this state of discontent and despondency, Charles attempted to introduce episcopacy into Scotland: and by this attempt, he alienated the affections of his Scottish subjects, and threw both kingdoms into a flame. Against the combination of the Scots, who were contending for

A. D. what they considered as dearer to them than life,
1638 the king had nothing to oppose but a proclamation.

This was instantly encountered by a public protestation; and the insurrection which had been advancing by a gradual and slow progress, now blazed up at once. No disorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four *tables*, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, and a fourth of burgesses. In the hands of the four tables the whole authority of the kingdom was placed; and among the first acts of their government was the production of the COVENANT.

This covenant consisted, first, of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth; and this was followed by a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatever. Peo-

ple of every rank and condition hastened to sign this covenant ; and so general was the contagion, that it seized the very ministers and counsellors of the king.

Charles was now willing entirely to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the high commission court ; and he gave authority to summon first an assembly, then a parliament, where every national grievance should be redressed ; but he wished on any terms to retain episcopacy in the church of Scotland. The covenanters saw that it would be necessary to retain their religious tenets by military force ; and the Dutch and French, who sought occasion for revenge, on account of a former misunderstanding, secretly fomented the commotions in Scotland, and supplied the covenanters with money and arms. The principal resource, however, of the Scottish malcontents, was in their own vigour and abilities. The earl of Argyle became the chief leader of the party ; and Leslie, a soldier of experience and merit, was intrusted with the command of their forces.

Notwithstanding Charles's aversion to sanguinary measures, his attachment to the hierarchy prevailed ; and he equipped a fleet, and levied a considerable army, which he joined himself at Berwick. Dreading, however, the consequences of a defeat, he suddenly concluded a peace, by which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army, that the Scots should dismiss their forces, that the king's authority should be acknowledged, and that a general assembly and parliament should be immediately convoked, in order to compose all differences.

When the assembly met, they voted episcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland : Charles was only willing to allow it to be contrary to the constitutions of the church. They stigmatized the liturgy and canons as popish : he agreed simply to abolish them. They denominated the high commission tyranny : he was content to set it aside. The parliament, which sat after the assembly, advanced pretensions which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch ; and they were proceeding to ratify the acts of the assembly, when they were prorogued by the order of Charles. And on account of these claims, which might have been foreseen, the war was renewed with great advantage on the side of the covenanters, and disadvantages on that of the king.

The covenanters, when they dismissed their troops, had cautiously warned them to be ready at a moment's notice; and the religious zeal with which they were inspired, made them fly to their standards as soon as summoned; but the king, with great difficulty, drew together an army, which he soon discovered that he was unable to support. Charles, therefore, found himself under the necessity of calling a parliament, after an intermission of eleven years; but after the king had tried many irregular methods of taxation, and after multiplied disgusts given to the puritans, who sympathized with their discontented brethren in Scotland; above all, when he considered the spirit with which former parliaments had been actuated, he could feel little confidence in a measure which his necessities had obliged him to adopt. Instead of supplies, he was assailed with murmurs and complaints. Charles, finding that ship money, in particular, gave great alarm and disgust, declared that he never intended to make a constant revenue of it, and that all the money levied had been faithfully applied; and he offered a total renunciation of that obnoxious claim, by any law which the commons might think proper to frame. In return, he only asked a supply of twelve subsidies, about six hundred thousand pounds, and that payable in three years.

To the partisans of the court, who urged a reasonable confidence in the king, and a supply of his present wants, the popular leaders replied, that it was the ancient practice of parliament to give grievances the precedency of supply; and that by bargaining for the remission of an unconstitutional duty, they would in a manner ratify the authority by which it had been levied. These reasons, joined to so many causes of ill-humour, produced their effect on the majority; and some affirmed, that the amount of twelve subsidies was a greater sum than could be found in all England. Such were the happy ignorance and inexperience of those times, in regard to taxation!

The king, seeing that the same principles still prevailed, which had occasioned him so much disturbance in the former parliaments, and being informed that a vote was about to pass, which would blast his revenue of ship-money, without allowing him any compensation in return, formed the hasty resolution of dissolving the assembly, a measure of

Elizabeth.

James I.

Charles I.

Charles II.

James II.

which he soon after heartily repented, and for which he was severely blamed.

Charles, disappointed of parliamentary subsidies, was obliged to have recourse again to his usual expedients; and new exactions and acts of assumed authority served only to increase the general discontent. With some difficulty he collected sufficient means for marching his army, consisting of nineteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, under the earls of Northumberland and Strafford, and lord Conway. The Scottish army, which was somewhat superior, had already entered England, as they pretended, with no other view than to obtain access to the king's presence, and to lay their humble petition at his feet. At Newburn upon Tyne, a detachment under Conway seemed to dispute the passage of that river. The Scots first entreated them not to stop them in their march to their gracious sovereign; and then attacked them with great bravery, killed several, and chased the remainder from their ground. Such a panic then seized the whole English army, that the forces at Newcastle fled immediately to Durham, and afterwards into Yorkshire.

The Scots took possession of Newcastle; and, in order to prevent their advancing upon him, the king agreed to a treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen, who were all popular men, to meet eleven Scottish commissioners at Rippon.

An address arrived from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament; and Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last determined to yield to it, and declared that it was his wish to meet the representatives of his people. As many difficulties occurred in the negotiations with the Scots, it was proposed, likewise, to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London, a proposal willingly embraced by the commissioners of that nation, who were sure of treating with advantage, in a place where the king would have more enemies and they more friends.

The causes of disgust which, for more than thirty years, had been multiplying in England, were now arrived at full maturity. No sooner had the house of commons assembled, than they impeached Strafford, who ^{A. D.} 1640 had incurred the resentment of the three kingdoms, by different services rendered to his unpopular master. Pym enumerated all the grievances under which the na-

tion laboured; and after several hours spent in invective or debate, the impeachment of Strafford was voted; and Pym was chosen to carry it up to the lords. Strafford, who had just entered the house of peers, was immediately ordered into custody, with symptoms of violent prejudice in his judges as well as in his prosecutors.

An impeachment of high treason was also voted against Laud, who was committed to custody; and the lord-keeper Finch, and secretary Windebank, were charged with the same crime; but these ministers, conscious of their danger, escaped to the continent. In short, all the officers and servants of the crown, who had been guilty of any obnoxious or oppressive measure, were called upon to answer for their conduct; and even the judges, who had given their vote against Hampden, in the trial of ship money, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find security for their appearance.

Thus, in a short time, the whole sovereign power was transferred to the commons; and this was the time when genius and talents, freed from the restraint of authority, began to display themselves. Pym, Hampden, St. John, Hollis, and Vane, greatly distinguished themselves by their various endowments; and even men of more moderate talents, and of different principles, caught a portion of the same spirit from the situation in which they were placed.

The harangues of members, now first published, kept alive the discontents against the king's administration; and the sentence against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, being reversed by parliament, these writers were again turned loose upon the public, and increased the general ferment.

From necessity, the king remained entirely passive during these violent proceedings. "You have taken the whole machine of government to pieces," said Charles, in a speech to parliament; "a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clean the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them." "The engine," continued he, "may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire, so as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the commons, who, like all violent reformers, destroyed the whole machine, instead of removing only such parts as might justly be deemed superfluous and injurious.

The commons, besides overawing their opponents,

thought it necessary to encourage their friends and adherents ; and, with this view, they voted the Scots a subsistence of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day, and St. Antholine's church was assigned them for their devotions, where their chaplains began to practise the presbyterian form of worship, to which multitudes of all ranks resorted. The most effectual expedient for procuring the favour of the zealous Scots, was the promotion of the presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England ; and to this innovation the popular leaders among the commons, as well as their more devoted partisans, were sufficiently inclined.

Petitions against the church were framed in different parts of the kingdom ; and a bill was introduced, prohibiting the clergy from holding any civil office, and of course depriving the bishops of a seat in the house of peers. This bill, however, was rejected in the upper house by a great majority ; but the puritans, far from being discouraged by this opposition, immediately brought in another bill for the total abolition of episcopacy, though they thought proper to suffer it to sleep till a more favourable opportunity.

The commons next issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, and crucifixes ; and so great was the abhorrence against the latter, that some of the most zealous would not suffer one piece of wood or stone to lie over another at right angles. Most of the established ceremonies of religious worship, and the ordinary vestments of its ministers, were considered as savouring of popery ; and the professors of that religion, in particular, were treated with the utmost harshness and indignity, from which the queen-mother, who had been obliged by some court intrigues to retire to England, and even the queen herself, were not exempt.

Charles, finding by experience the ill effects of his arbitrary measures, now endeavoured to regain the confidence of his people, by concessions, and a conformity to their inclinations. He passed a bill, by which the right of granting the duties of tonnage and poundage was asserted as belonging to the commons alone ; and with some difficulty he consented to a law for triennial parliaments, which was clogged with such conditions, that the legitimate power of a king was reduced almost to a shadow. A change of ministers, as well as measures, was also resolved on ; and

in one day several new privy-counsellors were sworn, all of the popular party.

The end on which the king was most intent in changing his ministers was, to save the life of the earl of Strafford; but the impeachment of that unfortunate nobleman was pushed on with the utmost vigour; and, after long and solemn preparations, was brought to a final issue. Twenty-eight articles were exhibited against him; but though four months had been employed by the managers, and all Strafford's answers were extemporaneous, it appears from

A. D. comparison, that he was not only guiltless of trea-
1641 son, but in some degree free from censure, if we make allowance for human infirmities exposed to such difficult circumstances. The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days, during which Strafford conducted himself with a degree of firmness, moderation, and wisdom, that extorted the admiration of his most bitter enemies; but the commons were determined to convict him; and, therefore, on the most incompetent evidence, or rather against usual legal evidence, the bill of attainder passed with no greater opposition than that of fifty-nine votes.

After the bill had passed the commons, the puritanical pulpits resounded with the necessity of executing justice on great delinquents; about six thousand armed men surrounded the houses of parliament; and the populace, worked up to a degree of frenzy by their leaders, flocked round Whitehall, where the king resided, and accompanied their demands against Strafford with the most open menaces.

About eighty peers had constantly attended Strafford's trial; but such were the apprehensions of the popular tumults, that only forty-five were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the upper house; yet of these, nineteen had the courage to vote against it. On whichever side the king cast his eyes, he saw no resource or security. All his servants, consulting their own safety rather than their master's honour, declined to interpose their advice between him and his parliament; and the queen, terrified with the appearance of so great a danger, pressed him to satisfy his people in this demand. Juxton alone, whose courage was not inferior to his other virtues, counselled the king not to act contrary to his conscience.

Strafford, hearing of the irresolution and anxiety of

Charles, wrote to the king, and with a noble effort of magnanimity entreated him, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent life, and to quiet the tumultuous populace, by granting the request for which they were so importunate. "In this," added he, "my consent will more acquit you to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury."

After suffering the most agonizing conflicts, Charles at last granted a commission to four noblemen to give his assent to the bill; and he also empowered them, at the same time, to sanction a bill which was still more fatal to his interests, and by which the parliament could neither be adjourned nor dissolved without their own consent.

Secretary Carleton was sent by the king to inform Strafford of the final result; and the unhappy earl at first appeared surprised; but soon collecting his native courage, he prepared for the fatal event, which was to take place after an interval of three days. During this period, Charles endeavoured to obtain from the parliament a mitigation of his sentence, or at least some delay, but was refused both requests.

Strafford, in passing from his apartments to Tower-hill, where the scaffold was erected, stopped under Laud's windows, and entreated the assistance of his prayers. The aged primate, dissolved in tears, pronounced a tender blessing on his departing friend, and sunk into the arms of his attendants. Strafford, however, still superior to his fate, passed on with an elated countenance, and an air of dignity; and his mind maintained its unbroken resolution amidst the terrors of death, and the unfeeling exultations of his misguided enemies. His speech on the scaffold was replete with fortitude and christian hope, and at one blow he was launched into eternity.

Thus perished, in the forty-ninth year of his age, one of the most eminent personages that has appeared in England, and the most faithful of the adherents of Charles; but his death was so far from producing that calm which the king had expected from the sacrifice, that the commons renewed their claims, extorted an abolition of the high commission and star-chamber courts, and remedied various other abuses which militated against the principles of constitutional freedom.

During this busy period, the princess Mary had been

married to William, prince of Orange, with the approbation of parliament. A small committee of both houses was appointed to attend the king into Scotland, which he had resolved to visit ; and Charles, despoiled in England of a considerable part of his authority, arrived in Scotland only to abdicate the small share which remained to him in that kingdom.

Charles, unable to resist, had been obliged to yield to the Irish, as well as to the Scottish and English parliaments ; and the commons of England, jealous of a standing army in Ireland, entirely attached to the king, prevailed on his majesty, contrary to his own judgment, to disband it.

Though the animosity of the Irish against the English nation appeared to be extinguished, they were no sooner freed from the dread of a military force, than a gentleman, called Roger More, formed the project of expelling the English, and asserting the independence of his native country. This man maintained a close correspondence with lord Maguire and sir Phelim O'Neale, the most powerful of the old Irish ; and he secretly went from chieftain to chieftain, and roused up every latent principle of discontent. The reasons of More engaged all the heads of the native Irish in the conspiracy. The insurrection became general ; and a massacre of the English commenced, in which, when it took place, neither age, sex, nor condition, was spared. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain was recourse had to relations or friends ; the dearest ties were torn asunder without pity or remorse ; and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected.

Death, however, was the slightest punishment inflicted by the Irish. All the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, and anguish of mind, which malicious ingenuity could invent, were now put in practice ; and the generous nature of More was shocked at the recital of such enormous cruelties ; but he found that his authority, though sufficient to excite the Irish to an insurrection, was unable to restrain their inhumanity.

The saving of Dublin alone preserved in Ireland the remains of the English name. The gates of that city,

though timorously opened, received the wretched supplicants, and presented to the view a scene of human misery beyond description. Diseases of unknown name and species, derived from their multiplied distresses, seized many, and put a period to their lives ; others, having now leisure to reflect on their severe loss of friends and fortune, cursed that being which they had preserved.

Charles found himself obliged in this exigency to have recourse to parliament ; but that assembly manifested the same opposition to the king in which they had separated ; and the increasing of their own authority, and the diminishing of the regal power, were the objects still pursued. By assuming the total management of the war in Ireland, they deprived the crown of its executive power ; and it was even roundly insinuated, that the pernicious counsels by which Charles had been guided, had given rise to the popish rebellion.

To render the attack on royalty more systematic, the commons framed a general remonstrance of the state of the nation, comprising every real or supposed grievance, from the accession of Charles ; and this was published without being carried up to the house of peers for their assent and concurrence.

This violent measure extremely agitated the sober and reflecting ; and Charles immediately published an answer to the remonstrance, in which he made the warmest protestations of his sincere attachment to the established religion, expatiated with truth on the great concessions he had lately made in favour of civil liberty, and complained of the reproaches with which his person and government were attacked ; but the ears of the people were prejudiced against him, and nothing he could offer appeared to them a sufficient apology for his former misconduct.

The commons resumed their encroachments ; and every measure pursued by them showed their determined resolution to reform the whole fabric of civil and religious government. The majority of the peers, of course, adhered to the king, and saw the depression of their own order in the usurpations on the crown ; but some of them, finding their credit high with the nation, ventured to encourage those popular disorders, which they vainly imagined they could hereafter regulate and control.

The pulpits resounded with the dangers which threaten-

ed religion ; and the populace crowded round Whitehall, and threw out menaces against Charles himself. Several gentlemen now offered their services to the king ; and between them and the rabble frequent skirmishes took place. By way of reproach, these gentlemen gave the mobility the appellation of *Roundheads*, on account of the short cropt hair which they wore ; and the latter retorted by calling them *Cavaliers*. Thus the nation, already sufficiently divided by religious and civil disputes, was supplied with party names, under which the factious might rendezvous and signalize their mutual hatred.

Williams, archbishop of York, having been abused by the populace, hastily called a meeting of his brethren, and prevailed on them to state, in an address to the king, that though they had an undoubted right to sit in parliament, they could no longer attend with safety, and therefore protested against all laws which should be made during their absence. This ill-timed protestation afforded an opportunity of joy and triumph to the commons. An impeachment of high-treason was immediately sent up against the bishops, as endeavouring to invalidate the authority of the legislature ; and, in consequence, they were sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody.

A few days after, Charles was betrayed into a very fatal act of indiscretion, to which all the ensuing disorders and civil wars ought immediately and directly be ascribed. Imputing the increasing insolence of the commons to his too great facility, he was advised to exert the vigour of a sovereign, and punish the daring usurpations of his subjects. Accordingly, Herbert, attorney-general, appeared in the house of peers, and, in his majesty's name, entered an accusation of high-treason against lord Kimbolton, and five commoners, Hollis, Haselrig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode, for having endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, and to alienate the affections of the people. A sergeant-at-arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house the five members ; and being sent back without any positive answer, Charles resolved next day to go in person to the house, and see his orders executed.

The members, informed of the design, had time to withdraw, a moment before the king entered, who, leaving his retinue at the door, advanced alone through the lobby ;

and the speaker withdrawing, his majesty took possession of the chair. The king told the house, that he must have the accused persons produced, but that he would proceed against them in a fair and legal way. The commons were in the utmost disorder; and when Charles was departing, some members cried aloud, "privilege! privilege!" and the house immediately adjourned till next day.

The same evening, the accused members removed into the city; and the citizens were the whole night under arms. Next morning, Charles ordered the lord-mayor to summon a common council, which he attended himself, and told them, that he had accused certain men of high treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way, and therefore presumed that they would not meet with protection in the city. After many gracious expressions, he left the hall without receiving the applause which he expected; and, in passing through the streets, he heard the cry of "privilege of parliament" resounding from all quarters.

The king, apprehensive of personal danger, retired to Hampton-court, overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse. Fully sensible of his imprudence, he wished to waive all thoughts of a prosecution, and offered any reparation to the house for the breach of privilege, of which, he acknowledged, they had reason to complain. The parliament, however, were resolved to accept of no satisfaction.

Hitherto, a great majority of the lords had adhered to the king, but they now yielded to the torrent; and the pressing bill, with its preamble, and the bill against bishops voting in parliament, were now passed. The queen prevailed with Charles to give his assent to these bills, in hopes of appeasing for a time the rage of the people, and of gaining for her an opportunity of withdrawing into Holland.

These concessions, however, only paved the way for more demands; and the parliament proceeded with hasty steps to monopolize all the legislative and executive power. That his consent to the militia bill might not be extorted by violence, the king retired to York, attended by his two sons. Here he found a zeal and attachment to which he had not been lately accustomed; and from all parts of England, the chief nobility and gentry offered their allegiance, and exhorted him to save himself and them from the slavery with which they were threatened.

Each party now wished to throw on the other the odium

of commencing a civil war; and while both prepared for an event which they deemed inevitable, the war of the pen preceded that of the sword, and daily sharpened the humours of the opposite parties. Here Charles had a double advantage. Not only his cause was now unquestionably the best; but it was defended by lord Falkland, who had accepted the office of secretary, and who adorned the purest virtue with the richest gifts of nature, and the most valuable acquisitions of learning.

It was evident, however, that keener weapons than manifestoes, remonstrances, and declarations, must determine the dispute. To the ordinance of the parliament concerning the militia, the king opposed his commissions of array; and the counties obeyed the one or the other, according as they stood affected. Hull contained a large magazine of arms; and it being suspected that sir John Hotham, the governor, was not much inclined to the parliament, the king presented himself before the place, in hopes of quietly obtaining possession of it. The governor, however, shut the gates, and refused to admit the king with only twenty attendants. Charles immediately proclaimed him a traitor; but the parliament justified and applauded the action.

Both sides now levied troops with the utmost activity. The parliamentary army was given to the earl of Essex, and in London no less than four thousand persons enlisted in it in one day. The splendour of nobility, however, with which the king was surrounded, much eclipsed the appearance at Westminster. Lord-keeper Littleton, and above forty peers of the first rank, attended Charles; while the house of lords seldom consisted of more than sixteen members. The parliament, in order that they might reduce the king to despair of a compromise, sent him their demands in nineteen propositions; but they appeared so extravagant, that Charles replied, "Should I grant these demands, I may be waited on bare-headed; the title of majesty may be continued to me; but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king." War on any terms seemed to the king and his counsellors preferable to such ignominious conditions; and, therefore, collecting some forces, he advanced southward, and at Nottingham erected the royal standard, the open signal of civil war.

When two names so sacred in the English constitution as those of KING and PARLIAMENT were set in opposition, it is no wonder that the people, divided in their choice, were agitated with the most violent animosities and factions. The nobility and more considerable gentry, dreading a total subversion of order, generally enlisted themselves in defence of the king; while most of the corporations, as being republican in their principles of government, took part with the parliament.

Never was a quarrel more unequal, than seemed at first that between the contending parties; almost every advantage lay on the side of the parliament, which had seized the king's revenues, and converted the supplies to their own use; and the torrent of general affection ran also to the parliament. The king's adherents were stigmatized with the epithets of *wicked* and *malignant*; while their adversaries were denominated the *godly* and *well-affected*.

The low condition in which the king appeared at Nottingham, where his infantry, besides the trained bands of the county, did not exceed three hundred, and his cavalry eight hundred, confirmed the contempt of the parliament. Their forces, stationed at Northampton, consisted of above six thousand men, well armed and appointed; and had these troops advanced upon the king, they must soon have dissipated the small force which Charles had assembled; but it was probably hoped, that the royalists, sensible of their feeble condition, and slender resources, would disperse of themselves, and leave their adversaries a bloodless victory.

On a message being sent by Charles, with overtures for an accommodation, the parliament demanded as a preliminary that the king should dismiss his forces, and give up delinquents to their justice; and both parties believed, that by this message and reply, the people would be rendered fully sensible of the intentions of each.

In the mean time, Portsmouth, which had declared for the king, was obliged to surrender to the parliamentary forces; and the marquis of Hertford, whom Charles had appointed general of the western counties, and had drawn together a small army, being attacked by a considerable force under the earl of Bedford, was obliged to pass over into Wales, leaving sir Ralph Hopton, sir John Berkley,

and others, with about one hundred and twenty horse, to march into Cornwall.

The parliamentary army, amounting to fifteen thousand men, under the earl of Essex, now advanced to Northampton; and the king withdrew to Shrewsbury, where he made a public declaration of his resolution to maintain the established religion, and to govern in future by the laws and customs of the kingdom. While he lay at Shrewsbury, he received the news of the first action of any consequence, which had yet taken place, and in which he was successful.

On the appearance of civil commotions in England, the princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate palatine, and nephews of Charles, had offered their services to the king; and the former, at that time, commanded a body of horse, which had been sent to Worcester, in order to watch the motions of Essex, who was marching towards that city. A detached party, under colonel Sandys, was completely routed, and their leader killed; and this action acquired to prince Rupert that character for promptitude and courage, which he eminently displayed during the whole course of the war.

The king, now mustering his army, found it to amount to ten thousand men. The earl of Lindsey was general, prince Rupert commanded the horse, sir Jacob Astley the foot, and lord Bernard Stewart was at the head of a troop of guards, whose estates and revenue, according to lord Clarendon, were at least equal to those of all the members, who, at the commencement of the war, voted in both houses.

With this army the king left Shrewsbury, resolved to bring on an action as soon as possible. The royal army arrived in the neighbourhood of Banbury, while that of the parliament was at Keinton, only a few miles distant. Both parties advancing, they met at Edge-hill, and fought with various success. The cavalry and the right wing of the parliament army were defeated; but sir William Balfour, who commanded the reserve of Essex, perceiving the enemy in disorder, and busied in plundering, attacked the king's infantry, and made a dreadful havoc. The earl of Lindsey was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner; and sir Edmund Verney, the king's standard bearer, was killed. The two armies gradually recovered their ranks, but neither of them had courage for a new attack. The earl

of Essex retired to Warwick, and Charles continued his march to Oxford, the only town at his devotion.

After the royal army had been refreshed and recruited, the king advanced to Reading, from which, on the approach of a body of horse, the governor and garrison being seized with a panic, fled precipitately to London. The parliament, who had expected a bloodless victory over Charles, were now alarmed at the near approach of the royal army, and voted an address for a treaty. The king named Windsor as the place of conference; but Essex having arrived at London, Charles attacked two regiments quartered at Brentford, beat them from that village, and took about five hundred prisoners. Loud complaints were raised against this attack, pending a negotiation; and the city, inflamed with resentment, joined its trained bands to the parliamentary army, which, by that means, was rendered much superior to that of the king, who, in consequence, judged it prudent to retire to Reading, and from thence to Oxford.

The conferences between the king and parliament had commenced without any cessation of hostilities; and it was soon found, that there was no probability of coming to an agreement. The earl of Essex laid ^{A. D.} ¹⁶⁴³ siege to Reading; and Fielding, the governor, consented to yield the town, on condition that he should bring off the garrison, and deliver up deserters. For this last article, so ignominious in itself, and so prejudicial to the king's interests, the governor was tried by a council of war, and condemned to lose his life, but the sentence was afterwards remitted.

In the north, lord Fairfax commanded for the parliament, and the earl of Newcastle for the king. The latter united in a league for the king, the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, and afterwards engaged some other counties in the association. Finding that Fairfax was making some progress in Yorkshire, he advanced with a body of four thousand men, and took possession of York; and at Tadcaster he attacked the forces of the parliament, and dislodged them; but his victory was not decisive.

Sir William Waller began to distinguish himself as a parliamentary general. After taking Winchester and Chichester, he defeated lord Herbert, who had laid siege

to Gloucester, with a considerable body of forces levied in Wales.

In the west, sir Bevil Granville, sir Ralph Hopton, sir Nicholas Slanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, had, at their own charges, raised an army for the king, and successively defeated the parliamentary generals, Ruthven and lord Stamford, on Bradoc Down, and at Stratton. After this success, the attention of both king and parliament was directed to the west; and the marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice having joined the Cornish army, over-ran the county of Devon, and threatened that of Somerset. Waller advanced with a considerable force to check their progress; and the two armies met at Lansdown, near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, but without any decisive event. The gallant Granville, however, was killed in the action, and Hopton was dangerously wounded. The royalists next attempted to march eastwards, and join the king's forces at Oxford; but Waller hanging on their rear, a battle took place at Roundway-down, near Devizes, in which the parliamentary army was entirely routed and dispersed. This important victory struck the parliament with dismay, which was increased by the death of the celebrated Hampden, who fell in a skirmish at Chalgrove, in Oxfordshire. Many were the virtues and talents of this eminent man, whose valour in war equalled his eloquence in the senate, and his resolution at the bar; and Charles valued him so highly, that when he heard of his being wounded, he offered to send his own surgeon to attend him.

Essex, discouraged by this event, retired towards London; and the king, freed from the enemy, sent his army westward, under prince Rupert, who besieged and took the city of Bristol. Charles joined the camp at Bristol; and some strongly urged him to march directly to London, where all was confusion and dismay, as the most likely means of rendering the royal cause successful over its adversaries; but the resolution of investing the city of Gloucester was fatally adopted.

In the beginning of the summer, a combination had been formed, by Edmund Waller, the poet, a member of the lower house, to oblige the parliament to accept of reasonable conditions, and to restore peace to the nation. For the execution of this project, he associated with him Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the friend of

Tomkins, whose influence in the city was considerable ; but intelligence of the design being conveyed to Pym, they were tried and condemned by a court martial ; and Tomkins and Chaloner were executed. Waller, with much difficulty, escaped, on paying a fine of ten thousand pounds.

After relieving Gloucester, besieged by the king, Essex proceeded towards London ; but when he reached Newbury, he found that the royal army already occupied the place, and that an action was unavoidable. On both sides, the battle was fought with desperate valour ; but night put an end to the action, and left the victory undecided. Essex continued to march to London ; and the king following, retook Reading, in which he placed a garrison. In the battle of Newbury, fell Lucius Carey, viscount Falkland, secretary to the king ; a man eminent for his abilities, and for every virtue which adorns humanity. On the morning of the day on which he met his fate, he had shown more than usual care in dressing himself, and gave for a reason, that the enemy might not find his body in any slovenly indecent situation. "I am weary," he subjoined, "of the times, and foresee much misery to my country ; but believe I shall be out of it ere night." He was only thirty-four years of age at the time of his death.

In the north, the influence and popularity of the earl, now created marquis of Newcastle, had raised a considerable force for the king ; but he was opposed by two men, on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who began about this time to be distinguished for their valour and military conduct. These were sir Thomas Fairfax, son of the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. The former gained a considerable victory at Wakefield, and the latter at Gainsborough ; but these defeats of the royalists were more than compensated by the total defeat of lord Fairfax, at Atherston Moor. After this victory, Newcastle sat down with his army before Hull ; but Hotham, the former governor, having expressed an intention to favour the king's interest, had some time before been sent to London, where he and his son fell victims to the severity of the parliament.

Newcastle suffered so much by a sally of the garrison, that he was obliged to raise the siege ; and about the same time, Manchester having joined Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable victory over the royalists at

Horncastle. Thus fortune seemed to balance her favours ; but the king's party still remained much superior in the north ; and had it not been for the garrison of Hull, which awed Yorkshire, a conjunction of the northern forces with the army of the south had probably enabled Charles to march directly to London, and finish the war, instead of wasting both his time and resources in the siege of Gloucester.

As the event became more doubtful, both parties sought for assistance ; the parliament in Scotland, and the king in Ireland. The former easily prevailed on the Scottish covenanters to espouse their cause, by joining in a solemn league and covenant, mutually to defend each other against all opponents, and to promote their respective aims and designs ; and Charles, having agreed to a cessation of hostilities in Ireland, where the English had regained the ascendancy, procured considerable bodies of troops from that kingdom.

The king, that he might make preparations for the ensuing campaign, endeavoured to avail himself of the appearance of a parliament, and summoned to Oxford
 A. D. 1644 all the members of either house who adhered to his interest. A great majority of the peers attended him ; but the commons were not half so numerous as those who sat at Westminster. The parliament at Westminster having voted an excise on beer, wine, and other commodities, those at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king ; and this was the first introduction of an excise into England.

The same winter the famous Pym died ; a man as much hated by one party as respected by the other. However, he had been little studious of improving his private fortune ; and the parliament, out of gratitude, discharged the debts which he had contracted.

The forces from Ireland, under the command of lord Biron, after obtaining considerable advantages in Cheshire, invested Nantwich, but were completely defeated by sir Thomas Fairfax, who, in the sequel, routed a large body of troops at Selby. Leven, the Scotch commander, having joined lord Fairfax, they sat down before York, to which the army of the royalists had retired. Hopeton was defeated by Waller at Cherrington ; but prince Rupert relieved Newark, which the parliamentary forces had besieged.

The earl of Manchester having taken Lincoln, united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York, though vigorously defended by Newcastle, was reduced to the last extremity, when the besiegers were alarmed by the approach of prince Rupert, at the head of twenty thousand men. The Scottish and parliamentary generals drew up on Marston Moor to give battle to the royalists; and Newcastle endeavoured to persuade the prince to wait, and leave the enemy to dissolve by their growing dissensions; but Rupert, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, rejected the advice, and led on his troops to the charge. This action was obstinately disputed, and fought with various success; but after the utmost efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned on the side of the parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken, and his whole army pushed off the field of battle.

This engagement, in which Cromwell manifested great courage and abilities, proved very fatal to the king's interest. Newcastle, disgusted at the treatment which he had received from the prince, and enraged that all his successful labours should be rendered abortive by one act of temerity, determined to leave the kingdom. He retired to the continent, where he lived till the restoration, in great necessity, and saw with indifference his opulent fortune sequestered by those who assumed the reins of government.

Prince Rupert drew off the remains of his army, and retired into Lancashire; and York surrendered to Fairfax, while Newcastle was taken by storm.

Ruthven, a Scotsman, who had been created earl of Brentford, managed the king's affairs in the south with more success. Essex and Waller marched with their combined armies towards Oxford; and the king, leaving a numerous garrison in that city, dexterously passed between the two armies, and marched towards Worcester. Waller received orders from Essex to follow him, while he himself proceeded westward in quest of prince Maurice. Waller had approached within two miles of the royal camp, when he received intelligence that the king had directed his course towards Shrewsbury; and the parliamentary general hastened by quick marches to that town; but Charles suddenly retraced his former steps, and having reinforced his army, in his turn marched out in quest.

of Waller. At Crupredy-bridge, near Banbury, the two armies faced each other, with only the Cherwell running between them. Waller, attempting to pass the bridge, was repulsed; and his army, disheartened by this unexpected defeat, began to melt away by desertion. The king thought he might safely leave it, and marched westward against Essex; and having cooped him up in a narrow corner at Lestithiel, reduced him to the last extremity. Essex, Robarts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth. Balfour, with his horse, passed the king's post in a thick mist; but the foot under Skippon were obliged to surrender.

That the king might have less reason to exult in this advantage, the parliament opposed to him very numerous forces under Manchester, Cromwell, and Waller. Charles chose his post at Newbury, where the parliamentay armies attacked him with great vigour; and though the king's troops defended themselves with valour, they were overpowered by numbers, and night only saved them from a total defeat, and enabled them to reach Oxford.

The discordant opinions which had arisen among the parliamentary generals in the field, were now transferred to the senate. The independents now appeared a distinct body from the presbyterians, and betrayed very different views and pretensions. Vane, Cromwell, Fiennes, and St. John, were regarded as the leaders of the former; but as a great majority in the nation were attached to the presbyterians, it was only by cunning and deceit at first, and afterwards by military violence, that the independents could entertain any hopes of success.

The parliament having passed a self-denying ordinance, by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, Essex, Manchester, and others, resigned their commands.

It was agreed to recruit the army to twenty-two thousand men, and sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed
A. D. 1645 general; a man eminent for his courage and humanity, but of little genius except in war. Cromwell, being a member of the lower house, should have been discarded with the rest; but he was saved by that political craft in which he was so eminent. By an artifice, which was, doubtless, concerted between them, Fairfax requested that he might be favoured with the advice and

assistance of Cromwell, for another campaign ; and thus the independents prevailed by art and cunning, and bestowed the whole military authority apparently on Fairfax, but in reality on Cromwell. The former was entirely governed by the genius and sagacity of the latter, whose strokes of character were only developed by the events in which he was concerned. His extensive capacity enabled him to form the most enlarged projects, and his enterprising-genius was not dismayed by the boldest and most dangerous. By the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined artifice, and the semblance of the greatest moderation and simplicity, he concealed an ambitious and imperious mind, which ultimately led him to the summit of power.

Negotiations for peace were once more renewed, though with small hopes of success. Commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge ; but it was soon found impracticable to come to any amicable adjustment on the important articles of religion, the militia, and Ireland. Charles refused to abolish episcopacy ; and the parliament expected that the power of the sword, and the sovereignty of Ireland, should remain in their hands.

A short time before the commencement of this treaty, archbishop Laud, after undergoing a long imprisonment, was brought to his trial for high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. After a long trial, the commons, unable to obtain a judicial sentence, passed an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate, who sunk not under the horrors of his execution. "No one," said he, "can be more willing to send me out of life, than I am to go." His head was severed from his body at one blow, which removed him to a better world.

While the king's affairs declined in England, some events took place in Scotland which seemed to promise a more prosperous issue in that kingdom. The young earl of Montrose, being introduced to his majesty, was so won by the civilities and caresses of the king, that though he had been employed in the first Scottish insurrection, he devoted himself from that time entirely to the service of Charles. Montrose, not discouraged by the defeat at Marston Moor, having obtained from the earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, a supply of eleven hundred men from that coun-

try; immediately declared himself, and entered on the career which has rendered his name immortal. Several hundreds of his countrymen soon flocked to his standard; and, with this small force, he hastened to attack lord Elcho, who lay at Perth, with an army of six thousand men. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was chiefly answered by a volley of stones, for want of arms and ammunition, he rushed among them, sword in hand, and throwing them into confusion, obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of two thousand covenanters. Though the majority of the kingdom was attached to the covenant, yet the enterprises of Montrose were attended with the most brilliant success; and, after prevailing in many battles, prepared himself for marching into the southern provinces, in order to put a final period to the power of the covenanters.

While the flame of war was thus rekindled in the north, it blazed out with no less fury in the south. Fairfax, or rather Cromwell, had new modelled the parliamentary army. Regimental chaplains were in a great measure set aside; and the officers assuming the spiritual duty, united it with their military functions, and during the intervals of action, occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, and exhortations. The private soldiers, seized with the same fanaticism, mutually stimulated each other to farther advances in grace; and when they were marching to battle, the whole field resounded as well with psalms and spiritual songs as with the instruments of military music.

At Nesby was fought, with nearly equal forces, a decisive and well disputed action between the king and the parliament. Charles led on his main body, and displayed in this action all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valour of a stout soldier. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well supported the reputation which they had previously acquired. Cromwell also, by his prudence and valour, very materially contributed to turn the fortune of the day. The royal infantry was totally discomfited, and Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. The slain on the side of the parliament, however, exceeded those of the king; but Fairfax made five hundred officers prisoners, and four thousand private men, and took all the king's artillery and ammunition.

The affairs of the royalists now declined in all quarters. Charles escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up with the broken remains of his army. The ^{A. D.} 1646 prince of Wales retired to France, where he joined the queen; the west submitted to the arms of Fairfax and Cromwell; and the defeat of Montrose at Philip-haugh, after a series of splendid actions, seemed to seal the final destiny of the king's party.

The only resource which remained to Charles, was derived from the intestine dissensions of his enemies. The presbyterians and independents fell into contests concerning the division of the spoil; and their religious and civil disputes agitated the whole nation. In the mean time, Fairfax, with a victorious army, approached to lay siege to Oxford, which must infallibly surrender. In this desperate extremity, the king embraced a measure, which had been suggested by Montreville, the French ambassador, of seeking the protection of the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark.

The Scottish generals and commissioners affected great surprise on the appearance of the king; and the parliament, hearing of his escape from Oxford, threatened instant death to whosoever should harbour or conceal him. The Scots, therefore, in order to justify themselves, assured the parliament, that they had entered into private understanding with his majesty. After keeping the king a prisoner for some time, to the eternal disgrace of the agents in this shameful business, they agreed to surrender him to the parliament for 400,000 pounds, half of which was to be paid instantly; and thus the Scottish nation have been stained with the infamy of selling their king, and betraying their prince for money.

When intelligence of the final resolution of the Scots to surrender him was brought to Charles, he was playing at chess; and so little was he affected by the news, that he continued his game without interruption, or any appearance of discomposure. The king, being delivered by the Scots to the English commissioners, was conducted to Holdenby, in the county of Northampton, where his ancient servants were dismissed, and all communication with his friends or family was prohibited.

About this time died the earl of Essex, who, sensible of the excesses to which affairs had been carried, had resol-

ved to conciliate a peace, and to remedy, as far as possible, all those ills to which, from mistake rather than any bad intentions, he had himself so much contributed. His death, therefore, at this conjuncture, was a public misfortune.

The dominion of the parliament, however, was of short duration. The presbyterians retained the superiority among the commons, but the independents predominated in the army. Some evident symptoms of disaffection having appeared among the soldiers, the parliament sent Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the army, to inquire into the cause of the disorders. These men were the secret authors of the discontents, which, while they pretended to appease them, they failed not to foment.

In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed, together with a council of the principal officers, on the model of the house of peers; and representatives of the army were composed, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company. This court declared that they found only grievances in the army, and voted the conduct of parliament unsatisfactory; and, foreseeing the result of matters, they took care to strike a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour.

A party of five hundred horse appeared at Holdenby, under the command of cornet Joice, who had once been a tailor, but was now an active agitator in the army. Joice came into the king's presence, armed with pistols, and told him he must immediately go along with him. "Whither?" said his majesty. "To the army," replied Joice. "By what warrant?" asked the king. Joice pointed to the soldiers, who were tall, handsome, and well accoutred. "Your warrant," said Charles, smiling, "is writ in fair characters, legible without spelling." Resistance was of course vain; and the king, stepping into his coach, was safely conducted to the army, which was hastening to its rendezvous at Triplo-heath, near Cambridge.

Fairfax himself was ignorant of this manœuvre; and it was not till the arrival of Cromwell, who had deceived the parliament by his profound dissimulation and consummate hypocrisy, that the intrigue was developed. On his arrival in the camp, he was received with loud acclamations, and was instantly invested with the supreme command.

The parliament, though at present defenceless, possessed many resources; and, therefore, Cromwell advanced upon them with the army, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's. The parliament, conscious of their want of popularity, were reduced to despair; and the army, hoping by terror alone to effect all their purposes, halted at St. Alban's, and entered into negotiation with their masters.

The army, in their usurpations on the parliament, copied exactly the model which the parliament itself had set them in their recent usurpations on the crown. Every day they rose in their demands; and one concession only paved the way to another still more exorbitant. At last, there being no signs of resistance, in order to save appearances, they removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head-quarters at Reading.

Charles was carried with them in all their marches, and found himself much more formidable than at Holdenby. All his friends had access to him; and his children were once allowed to visit him, and they passed a few days at Caversham, where he resided. Cromwell, as well as the leaders of all factions, paid court to him; and so confident was the king, that all parties would at length have recourse to his lawful authority, that on several occasions he observed, "You cannot be without me; you cannot settle the nation, but by my assistance."

Charles, however, though he wished to hold the balance between the opposite parties, entertained more hopes of an accommodation with the army, and made the most splendid offers to Ireton and Cromwell. The latter pretended to listen to his proposals; but, it is probable, that he had conceived the design of seizing the sceptre. While Cromwell, however, allured the king with the hopes of an accommodation, he systematically pursued his plan of humbling the parliament. A petition against some laws was presented at Westminster, by the apprentices and seditious multitude; and the house was obliged to reverse its votes. Intelligence of this tumult being conveyed to Reading, the army, under pretence of restoring liberty to that assembly, marched to Hounslow, where the speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lanthal, having secretly retired by collusion, presented themselves with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity, and complained of the violence

put upon them. The two speakers were received with acclamations, and conducted by a military force to Westminster; and every act which had passed in their absence was annulled, and the parliament reduced to a regularly formed servitude.

The leaders of the army, having now established their dominion over the city and parliament, ventured to bring the king to Hampton Court; but intelligence being daily brought him of menaces thrown out by the agitators, and his guards being doubled with the view of rendering him uneasy in his present situation, Charles adopted the sudden and impolitic resolution of withdrawing himself; and attended only by Sir John Berkley, Ashburnham, and Legge, he privately left Hampton Court, and arrived next day at Tichfield. Sensible, however, that he could not long remain concealed there, he imprudently put himself into the hands of Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, a man entirely dependent on Cromwell, by whom he was carried to Carisbroke castle, and confined a prisoner, though treated with the externals of duty and respect.

Cromwell, now freed from all anxiety in regard to the custody of the king's person, and being superior to the parliament, applied himself seriously to quell those disorders in the army which he himself had raised. He issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; but these *levellers*, as they were called, joined in seditious remonstrances and petitions; and Cromwell, at the time of a review, seizing the ringleaders before their companions, caused one mutineer instantly to be shot, and struck such terror into the rest, that they quietly returned to discipline and duty.

Cromwell paid great deference to the counsels of Ireton, a man who had grafted the soldier on the lawyer, and the statesman on the saint; and by his suggestion, he secretly called a council of the chief officers at Windsor, where was first opened the daring design of bringing the king to condign punishment for mal-administration. This measure being resolved on, it was requisite gradually to conduct the parliament from one violence to another, till this last act of atrocious iniquity should appear inevitable. At the instigation of the independents and army, that assembly framed four proposals, to which they demanded the king's positive assent, before they would deign to treat. The first

was, that he should invest the parliament with the military power for twenty years; the second, that he should recall all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and acknowledge that assembly to have taken arms in their just and necessary defence; the third, that he should annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal, since the commencement of the civil wars; and the fourth, that he should give the two houses power to adjourn as they thought proper.

Charles, though a prisoner, regarded these pretensions as exorbitant, and desired that all the terms on both sides should be adjusted, before any concession on either was insisted on. The republicans pretended to take fire at this reply; and Cromwell, after expatiating ^{A. D.} on the valour and godliness of the army, added, 1648
 “teach them not by neglecting your own safety and that of the kingdom, in which their’s too is involved, to imagine themselves betrayed, and their interests abandoned to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom, for your sake, they have dared to provoke. Beware, (and at these words he laid his hand on his sword,) beware lest despair cause them to seek safety by some other means than by adhering to you, who know not how to consult your own safety.”

Ninety-one members, however, had still the courage to oppose this menace of Cromwell; but the majority decided that no more addresses were to be made to the king, nor any letters or messages received from him, and that it should be treason for any one to have intercourse with him, without a permission from parliament. By this vote the king was actually dethroned; and this violent measure was supported by a declaration of the commons, equally violent, in which the character of Charles was aspersed with the foulest calumnies.

Scotland, whence the king’s cause had received the first fatal disaster, seemed now to promise its support and assistance. Alarmed at the subjection of parliament to the army, and the confinement of Charles, the Scots had resolved to arm forty thousand men, in support of their native prince, and secretly entered into correspondence with the English royalists, sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave, who had levied considerable forces in the north of England. Various combinations and con-

spiracies for the same purpose were every where forming; and seventeen ships, lying at the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and setting their admiral ashore, sailed over to Holland, where the prince of Wales took the command of them.

Cromwell and his military council, however, prepared themselves with vigour and conduct for defence; and while the forces were employed in all quarters, parliament having regained some share of liberty, repealed the vote for non-addressing, and five peers and ten commoners were sent to Newport, in the Isle of Wight, as commissioners to treat with Charles.

From the time that the king had been a prisoner in Carisbroke castle, he had totally neglected his person, and had suffered his beard to grow long. His hair had become almost entirely gray, either from the decline of years, or the load of sorrow with which he was oppressed. The vigour of his mind, however, was still unbroken; and alone, and unsupported, for two months, he maintained an argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity, without any advantage being obtained over him. Of all the demands of the parliament, Charles refused only two: he would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor abolish episcopacy, though he was willing to temper it.

In the mean time, Cromwell, with eight thousand men, attacked and defeated the numerous armies of twenty thousand, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale, and took the former prisoner. Following up his advantage, he marched into Scotland, where he exercised the most tyrannical power; and, in conjunction with those of his own party, placed all authority in the hands of the most violent anti-royalists. Colchester, after holding out for the king to the last extremity, under sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle, was obliged to surrender; and Fairfax, instigated by the inhuman Ireton, caused those officers to be shot.

These successes of the army had subdued all their enemies, except the helpless king and parliament; and the council of general officers, at the suggestion of Cromwell, now demanded the dissolution of that assembly, and a more equal representation in future. At the same time they advanced the troops to Windsor, and ordered the king to be removed to Hurst castle in Hampshire, where he was kept in close confinement.

The parliament, however, did not lose their courage, but set aside the remonstrances of the army, and issued orders that it should not advance nearer to London. The parliament, however, had to deal with men who would not be intimidated by words, nor retarded by any scrupulous delicacy. The generals marched the army to London, and surrounded the parliament with their hostile preparations. In this situation, the parliament had the resolution to attempt to close their treaty with the king; and after a violent debate of three days, it was carried by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine, against eighty-three, in the house of commons, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom.

Next day, however, when the commons were about to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, having surrounded the house with two regiments, forty-one members of the presbyterian party were seized, and above one hundred and sixty more were excluded. In short, none but the most determined independents were allowed to enter, and these did not exceed the number of fifty or sixty. This invasion of the parliament commonly passed under the name of *colonel Pride's purge*. The independents instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory; they renewed the former vote of non-addresses; and committed some of the leading presbyterian members to prison.

The council of officers now took into consideration a scheme, called "the agreement of the people," which laid the basis of a republic; and, that they might complete their iniquity and fanatical extravagance, they urged on this shadow of a parliament to bring in a specific charge against their sovereign. Accordingly, a vote was passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament, and appointed a high court of justice to try Charles for this new invented treason. This vote was sent up to the house of peers; and that assembly, which was in general very thinly attended, was on that day fuller than usual, and consisted of sixteen members; but without one dissenting voice, they instantly rejected the vote of the lower house, and adjourned for ten days, in hopes, by this delay, to retard the furious career of the commons.

That body, however, having assumed as a principle, which is true in theory, though false in practice, "that the

people are the origin of all just power," they declared that the commons represented the people, and that their enactments have the force of laws, without the consent of king or house of peers. The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart was then again read, and unanimously agreed to.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast of the army, was despatched with a strong party to conduct the king to London; and it appears that, at this time, his majesty expected assassination, and could not believe that they really intended to conclude their acts of violence by a public trial and execution.

All things, however, being adjusted, the high court of justice was fully constituted. It consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons named by the commons; but scarcely more than seventy ever sat; so difficult was it to engage men of any name or character in that atrocious measure. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army, most of them of low birth, were members, together with some of the lower house, and a few citizens of London. The twelve judges were at first appointed in the number; but as they had affirmed that the proceeding was illegal, their names were struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president, and Coke was appointed solicitor to the people of England.

The court sat in Westminster-hall; and the king being arraigned for levying war against the parliament, was impeached as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer. Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, Charles sustained the dignity of a monarch, and with great temper and force, declined the authority of the court. Three times was he brought before his judges, and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the court having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him.

In this last scene, Charles forgot not his character, either as a man or a prince. Firm and intrepid, he maintained in each reply the utmost perspicuity in thought and expression; mild and equable, he rose into no passion at the unusual authority assumed over him. His soul, without effort or affectation, seemed only to remain in the situation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all

Charles the First parting with his Children.

..

Execution of Charles the First.

the efforts of human malice. The soldiers were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice: "Poor souls," said the king, "for a little money they would do as much against their commanders."

Three days only were allowed the king between his sentence and execution; and this interval was passed in reading and devotion, and in conversing with the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester, who alone of his family remained in England.

The morning of the fatal day, which was the 30th of January, 1649, Charles rose early, and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for such a great and joyful solemnity. Juxon, bishop of London, a man endued with the same mild and steady virtues as his master, assisted him in his devotions, and paid the last melancholy duties to his sovereign. As he was preparing himself for the block, Juxon said, "there is, sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasted, a crown of glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." At one blow his head was severed from his body by a man in a visor; and another, in a similar disguise, held up to the spectators the head streaming with blood, and cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor!"

It is impossible to describe the grief, indignation, and astonishment, which took place throughout the nation, on this melancholy occasion. Each reproached himself either with active disloyalty, or with a too indolent defence of the royal cause. The generous Fairfax, it appears, had designed to rescue the king from the scaffold, with his own regiment; but this intention being known, he was artfully engaged by Cromwell in prayer with Harrison, till the fatal blow was struck.

The moment before his execution, Charles had said to Juxon, in an earnest and impressive manner, *remember!* and the generals insisted with the prelate, that he should inform them of the king's meaning. Juxon told them, that the king had charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers; a sentiment which in his

last speech he had before declared. As a king, Charles was not free from faults ; but as a man, few had ever filled the throne, who were entitled to more unqualified praise.

A few days after the consummation of this tragedy, the commons passed a vote, abolishing the house of peers as dangerous and useless, and a like vote was passed in regard to the monarchy. It was declared high-treason to proclaim or otherwise acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called the prince of Wales ; and the commons ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on which that assembly was represented, with a legend, " On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648."

CHAP. XII.

The Commonwealth.

ON the death of Charles, every person had framed the model of a republic, which how new or absurd soever, he wished to impose on his fellow citizens. The levellers insisted on an equal distribution of power and property ; the millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, required that government itself should be abolished, to prepare the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected ; while the antinomians asserted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were superseded, and that the elect were guided by an internal principle more perfect and divine.

The royalists were inflamed with the highest resentment against their ignoble adversaries ; the presbyterians were enraged to find that the fruits of their labours were ravished from them, by the treachery or superior cunning of their associates ; and the army, the only support of the independent republican faction, was actuated by a religious frenzy, which rendered it dangerous even to its friends.

The only poise against these irregularities of action, was the great influence of Oliver Cromwell. Hating monarchy, while a subject ; despising liberty, while a citizen ; he was secretly paving the way, by artifice and courage, to his own unlimited authority.

The parliament now named a council of state, consisting of thirty-eight members, to whom all addresses were made, and who digested all business before it was introduced into the house. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among

themselves, had no leisure or inclination to interpose in the domestic dissensions of this island; and the young king, poor and neglected, comforted himself amidst his present distress only with the hopes of better fortune. The situation of Scotland and Ireland alone gave any inquietude to the new republic.

Argyle and his partisans had proclaimed Charles II. in Scotland; but on condition "of his good behaviour and strict observance of the covenant:" in Ireland, the duke of Ormond having contrived to assemble an army of sixteen thousand men, recovered several places from the parliament, and threatened Dublin with a siege; and the young king entertained thoughts of visiting that kingdom.

Cromwell aspired to a situation where so much glory might be won, and so much authority acquired; and, by his usual cunning, he procured from the council of state the appointment of commander in chief in that island. Many disorders, however, in England, and particularly in the army, were necessary to be composed, before he set out; but with his usual felicity, he settled affairs sufficiently to allow him to undertake the expedition.

On his arrival at Dublin, he attacked and defeated the army of Ormond, whose military character in this action received some stain. He then hastened to Tredah, which was well fortified, and garrisoned with three thousand men; and having made a breach, he ordered a general assault. The town was taken sword in hand; and orders being issued to give no quarter, a cruel slaughter was made of the garrison. One person alone escaped, to be the messenger of the universal havoc and destruction.

Cromwell pretended to retaliate, by this severe execution, the cruelty of the Irish massacre; and though he well knew that nearly the whole garrison were English, his barbarous policy had certainly the desired effect. Every town before which he presented himself, now opened its gates without offering any resistance; and the English had no other difficulties to encounter, than what arose from fatigue and the advanced season. Fluxes and contagious distempers destroyed great numbers of them; but the English garrisons of Cork, Kinsale, and other important places, deserted to him.

This desertion of the English put an end to Ormond's authority; and leaving the island, he delegated his power

to Clanricarde, who found affairs too desperate to admit any remedy. Above forty thousand Irish passed into foreign service; and in the space of nine months, Cromwell had almost entirely subdued Ireland.

A. D.
1650 In the mean time, Charles being informed that he had been proclaimed king by the Scottish parliament, was at length persuaded, though reluctantly, to submit to the severe conditions annexed to his receival of the crown. To comply with these, he was chiefly induced by the account brought him of the fate of Montrose, who, with all the circumstances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen. The sentence pronounced against Montrose, was, that after being hanged, his head should be cut off, and affixed to the prison, and that his legs and arms should be stuck up on the four chief towns in the kingdom. He told the clergy, who insulted over his fallen fortunes, that they were a miserably deluded and deluding people. "For my part," added he, "I am much prouder to have my head affixed to the place where it is sentenced to stand, than to have my picture hung in the king's bed-chamber. So far from being sorry, that my quarters are to be sent to four cities of the kingdom, I wish that I had limbs enow to be dispersed into all the cities of christendom, there to remain as testimonies in favour of the cause for which I suffer." This sentiment, the same evening, he threw into verse; and the poem still remains, a monument of his heroic spirit, and no despicable proof of his poetic genius. With the same constancy he endured the last act of the executioner; and thus perished, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, the gallant marquis of Montrose.

Charles, in consequence of his agreement to take the covenant, and to submit to other hard conditions, landed in Scotland; but soon found himself considered as a mere pageant of state, and that the few remains of royalty which he possessed, served only to draw on him the greater indignities. As his facility in yielding to every demand gave some reason to doubt his sincerity, it was proposed that he should pass through a public humiliation, instead of being crowned as he expected.

The advance of the English army under Cromwell, could not appease nor soften the animosities among the parties in Scotland. As soon as the English parliament

found that the treaty between Charles and the Scots was likely to lead to an accommodation, they prepared for war. The command in Ireland was left to Ireton; and Cromwell being declared captain-general of all the forces in England, entered Scotland with an army of sixteen thousand men.

The command of the Scottish army was given to Leslie, who entrenched himself between Edinburgh and Leith, and avoided a battle, which Cromwell tried every expedient to bring on. The latter was at length reduced to such extremities, that he had even embraced the resolution of sending all his foot and artillery to England by sea, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry; but the madness of the Scottish ecclesiastics preserved him from this dishonour.

These enthusiasts had not only enjoined Charles to withdraw from the army, but they had purged it of four thousand malignants, as they were called, though reckoned the best soldiers in the nation; and on the faith of visions, forced their general, in spite of his remonstrances, to descend from an advantageous station upon the heights of Lamermure, near Dunbar, with a view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwell, seeing the enemy's camp in motion, foretold without the help of revelations, "that the Lord had delivered them into his hands." He gave orders for an immediate attack; and such was the effect of discipline, that the Scots, though double in number, were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter. About three thousand were slain, and nine thousand taken prisoners; and Cromwell following up his advantage, took possession of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling. The defeat of the Scots was regarded by Charles as a fortunate event, as the vanquished were now obliged to allow him more authority. Still, however, the protesters kept aloof from the malignants.

Charles encamped at Torwood, with the town of Stirling behind him, and cautiously adhered to defensive measures; but Cromwell, passing over the ^{A. D.} frith into Fife, posted himself in his rear, and ren- ¹⁶⁵¹ dered it impossible for the king to keep his station. Charles, reduced to despair, embraced a resolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. The road to Eng-

land being open, where he hoped to be joined by numerous friends, he persuaded the generals to march thither; and with one consent the army, to the number of fourteen thousand men, rose from their camp, and advanced by rapid marches towards the south.

Cromwell, leaving Monk with seven thousand men to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all possible expedition. Charles found himself disappointed in his expectations of increasing his army: the Scots fell off in great numbers; the English presbyterians and the royalists were unprepared to join him; and when he arrived at Worcester, his forces were not more numerous than when he rose from his camp at Torwood.

Such is the influence of established government, that the commonwealth, though very unpopular, had sufficient influence to raise the militia of the counties; and these, united with the regular forces, enabled Cromwell to fall upon the king at Worcester with an army of thirty thousand men. The streets of that city were strewed with the dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of bravery and honour, was mortally wounded; Massey was wounded and taken prisoner; and the king himself, having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly. The whole Scottish army was either killed or taken prisoners.

By the earl of Derby's directions, Charles went to Boscobel, a lone house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer, who, with his four brothers, served him with unshaken fidelity. Having clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into a neighbouring wood, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. For better concealment, he mounted an oak, where, hid among the leaves, he saw several soldiers pass by, who expressed in his hearing their earnest wishes of finding him. At length, after escaping frequent dangers of detection, the king embarked on board a vessel at Shoreham, in Sussex, and arrived safely at Fescamp in Normandy, after a concealment of one and forty days. No less than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his concealment, yet all of them proved faithful to their trust.

The battle of Worcester afforded Cromwell what he called his "crowning mercy;" and he now discovered to his



intimate friends his aspiring views. The unpopularity of the parliament aided the ambition of this enterprising man, and paved the way to his exaltation. Never, however, had the power of this country appeared so formidable to neighbouring nations, as at this time. Blake had raised the naval glory of England to a greater height than it had attained at any former period. In America, the Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, and Barbadoes, were reduced; Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were brought under subjection to the republic; and all the British dominions submitting, parliament turned its views to foreign enterprises.

The Dutch were the first that felt the weight of their arms. The parliament passed the famous navigation act. Letters of reprisal were granted to several merchants, who complained of injuries which they had received from the states; and above eighty Dutch ships fell into their hands, and were made prizes. The cruelties committed on the English at Amboyna, which had been suffered to sleep in oblivion for thirty years, were also urged as a ground for hostile aggression.

That they might not be unprepared for the war with which they were menaced, the States equipped a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail; and gave the ^{A. D.} command of a squadron of forty-two ships to Van ¹⁶⁵² Tromp, an admiral of great talents, to protect the Dutch navigation against the privateers of England. In the road of Dover, he met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggressor in the action which ensued, it is not easy to determine; but the Dutch were defeated with the loss of one ship sunk, and another taken.

The parliament gladly seized this opportunity of commencing the war in form. Several actions now took place with various success. At length, Tromp, seconded by De Ruyter, met near the Goodwin Sands with Blake, who, though his fleet was inferior to that of the Dutch, declined not the combat. Both sides fought with the greatest bravery; but the advantage remained with the Dutch; and after this victory, Tromp, in a bravado, fixed a broom to his mast-head, as if resolved to sweep the seas of the English.

Great preparations were made in England to wipe off

A. D. this disgrace ; and a fleet of eighty sail was fitted
1653 out, commanded by Blake, and under him by Dean and Monk. As the English lay off Portland, they descried a Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels, sailing up the channel, with three hundred merchantmen, under the command of Tromp and De Ruyter. A most furious battle commenced, and continued for three days, with the utmost rage and obstinacy ; and Blake, who was victor, could scarcely be said to have gained more honour than the vanquished. Tromp made a skilful retreat, and after losing eleven ships of war, and thirty merchantmen, reached the coast of Holland.

This defeat, together with the loss which their trade sustained by the war, inclined the States to peace ; but parliament did not receive their overtures in a favourable manner ; and they rejoiced at the dissolution of that assembly by Cromwell, as an event likely to render their affairs more prosperous.

Cromwell, sensible that parliament entertained a jealousy of his power, which they wished to restrain, determined to anticipate their designs. A council of officers presented a remonstrance, complaining of the arrears due to the army, and demanding that a new parliament should be summoned. To this the parliament made a sharp reply ; and Cromwell in a rage hastened to the house, attended by three hundred soldiers, some of whom he placed at the door, some in the lobby, and some on the stairs. He reproached the parliament for their tyranny, ambition, and oppression ; and commanding the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out the last, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings at Whitehall.

Oliver Cromwell, who had by this violent measure monopolized the whole civil and military power in the kingdom, was born at Huntingdon, of a good family, though their estate was small. In the early part of his life, he was extremely dissolute and dissipated ; but he was suddenly seized with the spirit of reformation, and entered into all the zeal and rigour of the puritans. His affairs being embarrassed, he took a farm at St. Ives, and applied himself to agriculture ; but this expedient involved him in greater difficulties. The length of his prayers, together with the general abstraction of his mind, prevented him from paying due attention to his farm ; and urged by his

Cromwell dissolving the Long Parliament.

wants, and the religious principles he had imbibed, he had made a party with Hampden, his near kinsman, to transport himself to New-England, but was prevented by an order of council. From accident and intrigue, he was chosen member for the town of Cambridge in the long parliament; but though highly gifted by nature, he was no orator; and if he had not lived in times of turbulence and disorder, it is probable that he would never have risen to eminence and distinction.

The indignation manifested by the people, on the usurpation of Cromwell, was less violent than might have been expected. Harassed with wars and factions, men were glad to see any prospect of peace; and they considered it less ignominious to submit to a person of talents and abilities, than to a few enthusiastic hypocrites, who, under the name of a republic, had reduced them to a cruel subjection.

By the advice of his council of officers, Cromwell sent summons to one hundred and twenty-eight persons, of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, and to six of Ireland. These men, who were generally low mechanics, supported by Cromwell, voted themselves a parliament; and from one of the most noted, a leather-seller in London, whose name was Praise-God Barebone, they obtained the ridiculous appellation of Barebone's parliament. Cromwell, however, soon became dissatisfied with this assembly of fanatics, who, he expected, would have been subservient to him, but who began to insist on their divine commission, and to oppose his views. In the act of drawing up a protest against their dissolution, they were interrupted by colonel White, with a party of soldiers. White asked them what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere," replied he, "for to my knowledge, he has not been here these many years."

This shadow of a parliament being dissolved, the council of officers now proposed, that the supreme authority should be vested in a single person, who should be styled the PROTECTOR; and a new instrument of government being prepared, Cromwell was declared *protector*, and installed with great solemnity in that high office. By the plan of this new legislature, a council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be fewer than thirteen persons. The protector, however, was to possess all the

executive power; but the advice of the council was to be taken on every important occasion. A parliament was to be summoned every three years, and allowed to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills which they passed were to be presented to the protector for his assent; but if within twenty days that assent was not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority of parliament alone. A standing army was established, and funds were assigned for its support. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the next meeting of the legislative body. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and, on his death, the council was to fill up the vacancy. The council of state, named by the instrument, were men entirely devoted to Cromwell, and not likely ever to combine against him.

Whatever may be the defects and distractions in this system of civil polity, the military force of England was exerted with vigour, conduct, and unanimity. The English fleet, commanded by Monk and Dean, after an engagement of two days, defeated the Dutch under Tromp; and in another engagement, when Blake commanded, Tromp was shot through the heart, and this decided the action. The Dutch regarded less the loss of thirty ships which were sunk and taken, than the catastrophe of their brave admiral. At length, however, a defensive

A. D.
1654 league was contracted between the two republics, on terms very honourable and advantageous to England; and Cromwell, as protector, signed the treaty of pacification.

Cromwell, however, had occasion to observe the prejudices entertained against his government, by the disposition of the parliament which he had summoned. The manner in which he had conducted the elections had been favourable to liberty. The small boroughs, as being most exposed to influence and corruption, had been disfranchised; and of four hundred members who represented England, two hundred and seventy were chosen by the counties. These measures, however, failed to procure him the confidence of the people; and the first business on which the parliament entered, was to discuss the pretended instrument of government, and the authority which Cromwell had assumed over the nation. Cromwell obliged the

members to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as settled in a single person and a parliament; but, finding that conspiracies had been entered into between the members and some malcontent officers, he hastened to dissolve this dangerous assembly.

After this, the protector exerted himself against the adherents of Charles, who had appointed a day of general rising throughout England; and in order to draw off the attention of the nation from himself, he extended his enterprises to every part of Europe. He compelled the French to comply with every proposal which he thought fit to make, and to submit to the greatest indignities.

The extensive but feeble empire of Spain in the West Indies, excited the ambition of the protector; and, in order to humble that power, he equipped two squadrons; one under Blake entered the Mediterranean, and spread terror every where. To the other, under Pen and Venables, Jamaica surrendered without a blow; and that island has ever since remained in the hands of the English, the chief acquisition which they owe to the enterprising spirit of Cromwell.

Blake, being informed that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships had taken shelter in the Canaries, sailed thither, and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz. This bay was strongly fortified; but nothing could daunt the spirit of Blake. In spite of the Spanish forts and batteries, the English admiral steered into the bay; and, after a resistance of four hours, the enemy abandoned their ships, which were set on fire and consumed.

This was the last and greatest action of that gallant officer. Being almost worn out with a dropsy and scurvy, he hastened home, that he might die in his native country; but he expired as he came within sight of land. Never was a man more sincerely respected, even by those of opposite principles. He was an inflexible republican, and the late changes were thought to be no way grateful to him; but he remarked to the seamen, "It is still our duty to fight for our country, into whose hands soever the government may fall."

The conduct of the protector in foreign affairs, though often rash, was full of vigour. The great mind of Crom-

well was intent on spreading the fame of the English nation; and it was his boast, that he would render the name of an Englishman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman. In his civil and domestic administration, he paid great regard both to justice and clemency. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled with men of integrity; and amidst the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were unwarped by partiality.

Cromwell now judging that he had sufficiently established his authority, summoned another parliament; but, though he had used every art to influence the elections, he soon found that it was necessary to employ the most violent measures to procure an ascendancy in the house. He placed guards at the door, who permitted only such to enter as produced a warrant from the council. The parliament voted a renunciation of all titles in Charles Stuart, or any of his family; and colonel Jephson, in order to sound the inclinations of the house, ventured to move, that they should bestow the crown on Cromwell. When the protector afterwards affected to ask what could induce him to make such a motion: "As long," said Jephson, "as I have the honour to sit in parliament, I must follow the dictates of my own conscience, whatever offence I may be so unfortunate as to give you." "Get thee gone," said Cromwell, giving him a gentle blow on the shoulder, "get thee gone for a mad fellow as thou art."

At length, a motion in form was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing Cromwell with the royal dignity. The chief opposition came from the usual adherents of the protector, the general officers, particularly Lambert, who had long entertained hopes of succeeding him. However, the bill was carried by a considerable majority; and a committee was appointed to

reason with Cromwell, and to overcome the scruples which he pretended against such a liberal offer. The conference lasted several days; but the opposition which Cromwell dreaded was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents; it was that which he met with in his own family, and from men the most devoted to his interests. Fleetwood had married his daughter, and Desborow his sister; yet these men told him, that if he accepted of the crown, they would instantly throw up their commissions, and render it impossible for

A. D.
1657

them to serve him. In short, it is said that a general mutiny of the army was justly dreaded, if this ambitious project had been carried into execution ; and therefore Cromwell, after long doubt and perplexity, was at last obliged to refuse the crown. The parliament, however, gave him the power of nominating his successor, and assigned him a perpetual revenue for the payment of the fleet and army, and the support of the civil government.

The parliament was again assembled, and the protector endeavoured to maintain the appearance of a civil magistrate, by placing no guards at the door of either house ; but he soon found how incompatible liberty is with a military usurpation. The commons assumed the power of re-admitting those members whom the council had formerly excluded ; and an incontestible majority declared themselves against the protector. Dreading combinations between the members and the malcontents in the army, Cromwell determined to dissolve the parliament without delay ; and when urged by Fleetwood and others of his friends not to precipitate himself into so rash a measure, he swore by the living God that they should not sit a moment longer.

These distractions at home, however, did not render the protector inattentive to foreign affairs. The Spaniards were defeated at Dunes by the combined armies of France and England ; and Dunkirk being soon after surrendered, was delivered to Cromwell. He committed the government of that important place to Lockhart, who had married his niece, and was his ambassador at the court of France.

These successes abroad were more than counterbalanced by his inquietudes at home. The royalists and presbyterians entered into a conspiracy, which being discovered, numbers were thrown into prison, and sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Huett were condemned to be beheaded. The army was ripe for a mutiny ; and Fleetwood and his wife, who had adopted republican principles, began to estrange themselves from Cromwell. His other daughters were no less prejudiced in favour of the royal cause ; and the death of Mrs. Claypole, his peculiar favourite, destroyed all his enjoyments.

All composure of mind seemed now for ever fled from the protector. He saw nothing around him but treache-

rous friends or enraged enemies ; and death, which he had so often braved in the field, haunted him in every scene of business or repose. Every action betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. He never moved a step without guards ; he wore armour under his clothes ; and he seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber.

The contagion of his mind began to affect his body. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. Dangerous symptoms soon made their appearance. Casting his eyes towards that future existence, which, though once familiar to him, had been considerably obliterated by the hurry of business, Cromwell asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if it were true that the elect could never fall or suffer final reprobation ? “ Nothing more certain,” replied the preacher. “ Then I am safe,” said the protector, “ for I am sure that I was once in a state of grace.”

He died on the third of September, a day which he had always considered as propitious to him, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. A violent tempest which immediately succeeded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar ; and his partisans, as well as his enemies, endeavoured, by forced inferences, to interpret this event as a confirmation of their particular prejudices.

The private conduct of Cromwell, as a son, a husband, a father, and a friend, merits praise rather than censure ; and, upon the whole, his character was a compound of all the virtues and all the vices which spring from violent ambition and wild fanaticism.

Cromwell was surrounded with so many difficulties, that it was thought he could not much longer have extended his usurped administration ; but when that powerful hand was removed, which conducted the government, every one expected a sudden dissolution of the baseless fabric. Richard, his son, possessed no talents for government, and only the virtues of private life ; yet the council recognized his succession. His brother Henry, who governed Ireland with popularity, insured him the obedience of that kingdom ; and Monk, who was much attached to the family of Cromwell, proclaimed the new protector in Scotland. Above ninety addresses from the counties and most con-

siderable corporations congratulated Richard on his accession; and a parliament being called, all the commons at first, without hesitation, signed an engagement not to alter the present government. A. D.
1659.

But there was another quarter from which greater dangers were justly apprehended. The most considerable officers of the army, with Fleetwood and Lambert at their head, were entering into cabals against Richard. The young protector, having neither resolution nor penetration, was prevailed on to give his consent for calling a general council of officers, who were no sooner assembled, than they voted a remonstrance, in which they lamented that *the good old cause*, as they termed it, was neglected; and they proposed, as a remedy, that the whole military power should be intrusted to some person, in whom they might all confide. The protector was justly alarmed at these movements among the officers; and some of his partisans offered to put an end to these intrigues by the death of Lambert; but Richard declared that he would not purchase power by such sanguinary measures.

The parliament was no less alarmed at these military cabals, and passed a vote, that there should be no general council of officers, without the protector's consent. This brought matters to a crisis. The officers hastened to Richard, and demanded the dissolution of the parliament. The protector wanted the resolution to deny, and possessed little ability to resist this demand; and he soon after signed his own resignation in form. Henry, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the same moderate disposition as his brother; and though his popularity and influence in that country were very considerable, he quietly resigned his authority and returned to England.

Thus fell, at once, the protectorate house of Cromwell; but, by a rare fortune, it suffered no molestation. Richard continued to possess an estate, which he had burdened with a debt contracted for the interment of his father. After the restoration, though unmolested, he travelled for some years, and then returning to England, lived to an extreme old age. He was beloved for his social virtues, and happier in tranquility and retirement than he could have been by the applause of empty fame and the gratifications of the most successful ambition.

The council of officers, in whom the supreme authority

was now lodged, agreed to revive the long parliament. The members little exceeded seventy in number; but they took care to thwart the measures of the officers; and they appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general only during the pleasure of the house.

The conduct of the parliament gave great disgust to the general-officers, who resolved to dissolve an assembly by which they were vehemently opposed. Accordingly, Lambert drew together some troops, and intercepting the members as they came to the house, sent them home under a military escort.

The officers now found themselves again in possession of supreme power; but to save appearances, they elected twenty-three persons, called *a committee of safety*, which they pretended to invest with sovereign authority. Throughout the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but melancholy fears of a bloody massacre to the nobility and gentry, and of perpetual servitude to the rest of the people.

But amidst these gloomy prospects, a means was preparing for the king to mount in peace the throne of his ancestors. General George Monk, to whose prudence and loyalty the restoration of the monarchy is chiefly to be ascribed, was the second son of an honourable family in Devonshire, but somewhat gone to decay. He had betaken himself, in early youth, to the profession of arms; and by his humane disposition he gained the good will of the soldiers, who usually called him *honest George Monk*. He was remarkable for his moderation; and, from the candour of his behaviour, he fell under suspicion of the royalists, and was suspended for a time. At the siege of Nantwich, he was taken prisoner by Fairfax, and sent to the tower, where he endured, about two years, all the rigours of poverty and confinement; and it was not till after the royalists were totally subdued that he recovered his liberty.

Monk, however distressed, had always refused the most inviting offers from the parliament; but Cromwell, sensible of his merit, prevailed on him to engage in the wars against the Irish, who were considered as rebels both by the king and parliament. He afterwards fought in Scotland, and on the reduction of that kingdom, was left with the supreme command. In that capacity, he gave satisfaction both to the people and the soldiery; and foreseeing

that the good will of the army might eventually be of great service to him, he cultivated their friendship with assiduity and success.

Hearing that Lambert was advancing northward, Monk sent commissioners to treat with the committee of safety; but his chief aim was to gain time, and relax the preparations of his enemies. In the mean time, the nation had fallen into anarchy. While Lambert's forces were assembling at Newcastle, Hazelrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth for the parliament; and admiral Lawson, entering the river Thames, declared on the same side. The city of London established a kind of separate government within itself; and Fleetwood was unable to support the baseless fabric, which was every where falling to pieces.

Monk, who had passed the Tweed, though informed of the restoration of parliament, continued to advance at the head of about six thousand men. In all the counties through which he passed, the gentry flocked to him with addresses, requesting that he would assist in restoring the nation to peace and tranquility; but he affected not to favour them.

Monk and his army soon reached the metropolis. The common-council of London having refused to submit to an assessment, and declared that till a free parliament imposed taxes they would make no payment, Monk was ordered to march into the city, and seize twelve persons the most obnoxious to the parliament. With this order he immediately complied, and apprehended as many as he could of the proscribed persons; but soon reflecting that by this action he had broke through the cautious ambiguity which he had hitherto maintained, and rendered himself the tool of a parliament whose tyranny had long been odious to the nation, he wrote a letter to the house, requiring them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole commonwealth, to issue writs within a week for the filling of their assembly, and to fix the time for their own dissolution and the meeting of a new parliament. He then marched with his army into the city, and requesting the mayor to summon a common council, he apologized for his late conduct, and desired that they might mutually plight their faith for a strict union between the city and army, in every measure which might conduce to the settlement of the commonwealth.

It would be impossible to describe the joy which this intelligence conveyed; and the funeral of the parliament was celebrated by the populace with marks of hatred and derision. The secluded members were invited by the general to enter the house, and appeared to be the majority. Votes were passed favourable to the views of Monk; and writs were issued for the immediate assembling of a new parliament.

When the parliament met, sir Harbottle Grimstone, a gentleman well affected to the king's service, was chosen speaker; and the general having sounded the inclinations of the assembly, gave directions to the president of the council to inform them, that one sir John Granville, a servant of the king, was now at the door with a letter to the commons. This intelligence excited the loudest acclamations; Granville was called in; and, without one dissenting voice, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer.

The king's declaration, which was immediately published, offered a general amnesty, with the exception only of such persons as should be made by parliament; it promised liberty of conscience; and assured the soldiers of all their arrears, with a continuance of the same pay.

The lords, perceiving the spirit by which the kingdom, as well as the commons, was animated, hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient authority; and the two houses attended, while the king was proclaimed with great solemnity in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar. A committee of lords and commons was despatched to invite his majesty to return, and take possession of the throne; and the king, embarking at Scheveling, landed at Dover, where he was met by Monk, whom he cordially embraced. On the 29th of May, which was also his birthday, Charles entered London, amidst the most joyful congratulations.

CHAP. VI.

The reign of Charles II.

WHEN Charles II. ascended the throne, he was thirty years of age. He possessed a vigorous constitution, a fine shape, a manly figure, and a graceful air; and though his features were harsh, yet his

A. D.
1660

countenance was lively and engaging. No prince ever received a crown with the more cordial attachment of his subjects ; and the ease and affability of his manners were well calculated to confirm this popularity.

In the choice of his ministers, the king gave great satisfaction to the nation. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime-minister ; the duke of Ormond, steward of the household ; the earl of Southampton, high-treasurer ; and sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state. Admiral Montague, who had carried a fleet to receive his majesty, without waiting for the orders of parliament, was created earl of Sandwich ; and Monk, who, without effusion of blood, by his cautious and disinterested conduct, settled the affairs of the three kingdoms, and restored his injured sovereign to the vacant throne, was created duke of Albemarle. Into the king's council were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions ; the presbyterians, equally with the royalists, shared this honour.

All judicial proceedings, transacted in the name of the commonwealth, or protector, were ratified by a new law ; and the act of indemnity passed both houses, and soon received the royal assent. The regicides, with Vane and Lambert, were alone excepted ; and all who had sitten in any illegal high court of justice, were declared incapable of bearing any office in the state.

The next business was the settlement of the king's revenue. They granted him one hundred thousand pounds a year, in lieu of the tenures of wards and liveries, which had long been considered as a grievous burden by the nobility and gentry ; and they voted, that the settled revenue of the crown, for all charges, should amount to the annual sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds ; but, still jealous of liberty, they scarcely assigned sufficient funds for two thirds of that sum ; and thus left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future consideration of parliament.

The next object which interested the public, was the trial and condemnation of the regicides. Harrison, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, Scrope, Axtel, Hacker, Coke, and Hugh Peters, suffered with the confidence of martyrs. The rest of the king's judges were reprieved.

After the parliament had sitten about two months, the

king dissolved that assembly in a speech full of the most gracious expressions. The army was also disbanded ; and no more troops were retained than a few guards and garrisons, about one thousand horse and four thousand foot. This, however, was the first appearance of a regular standing army, under the monarchy, in this island.

Clarendon, whose daughter, Ann Hyde, was now married to the duke of York, by his wisdom, his justice, and his prudence, equally promoted the interest of the king and the people ; but his conduct in the management of ecclesiastical affairs has been censured by many. Charles having observed that presbyterianism was not a religion for a gentleman, it was resolved to restore prelacy in Scotland. Sharpe, who had been commissioned by the presbyterians in Scotland to manage their interests with the king, was persuaded to abandon his party, and, as a reward for his tergiversation, was created archbishop of St. Andrews. The conduct of ecclesiastical affairs was chiefly intrusted to him ; and he became extremely obnoxious to his former friends.

In England, the new parliament, laying hold of the prejudices which prevailed among the presbyterian sect, in order to eject them from their livings, required that every clergyman should be reordained, if he had not before re-

A. D.
1662 received episcopal ordination ; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer ; should take the oath of canonical obedience ; should abjure the solemn league and covenant ; and should renounce the principle of taking arms against the king, on any pretence whatsoever. This act, and others which passed about the same time, have been the best supports of the state, by joining it closely with the church. It must, however, be confessed, that by these enactments the king's promises of toleration and indulgence to tender consciences was entirely eluded or broken. About two thousand of the clergy, in one day, relinquished their cures, and sacrificed their interest to their principles.

Before the parliament rose, the court was employed in preparing for the reception of the princess Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and with whom he received five hundred thousand pounds, and the two fortresses of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies, by way of dowry. This marriage, however, was

far from proving auspicious, as the queen was never able to win the affections of her husband.

Charles, pressed by pecuniary difficulties, in order to raise money, as well as to save expenses, sold Dunkirk to France, for four hundred thousand pounds. To this measure he was advised by Clarendon. The value of this acquisition was so little understood by the French king, that he thought he had made a hard bargain.

Charles issued a declaration, under pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the act of uniformity; but the foundation of this measure was of a very different nature. The king, during his exile, had imbibed strong prejudices in favour of the catholic religion; and though he fluctuated during his whole reign, between irreligion, which he more openly professed, and popery, to which he retained a strong propensity, his brother the duke of York had entered with zeal into all the principles of that theological party, and by his application to business, which Charles disliked, had acquired a great ascendancy over him. On pretence of easing the protestant dissenters, they agreed upon a plan for introducing a general toleration, and giving the catholics the free exercise of their religion, at least in private houses. The parliament, however, refused their concurrence in this measure; and, in order to deprive the catholics of all hopes, the two houses A. D.
1663 agreed in a remonstrance against them. The king insisted no farther at present on this project of indulgence; and he issued a vague proclamation against jesuits and Romish priests. In return for this, the commons voted him a supply of four subsidies; and this was the last time that taxes were levied in that manner.

In proportion as the king found himself established on the throne, he began to alienate himself from Clarendon, whose character was so little suited to his own. Charles's partiality for the catholics was always opposed by this minister, who, conscious of integrity and of faithful services, disdained to enter into any connexion with the royal mistresses.

The irregular pleasures of Charles, and the little regard he paid to decency in his public mistresses, could not but give offence to the nation. It was found that the virtues which he possessed were more showy than substantial; that his bounty proceeded rather from facility of disposition than

generosity ; that while he seemed affable to all, his heart was little susceptible of friendship ; and that he secretly entertained a bad opinion of mankind, no proof that he was actuated by better motives. But what was most injurious to the king's reputation, was the neglect of his own and his father's adherents, whom he suffered to remain in poverty and distress, aggravated by the cruel disappointment of their sanguine hopes, and by seeing favour and preferment bestowed on their most inveterate foes. The act of indemnity and oblivion was generally denominated, and in many cases too justly, an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

The king having demanded a repeal of the triennial act, the parliament abrogated the law, and satisfied themselves with a general clause, that parliaments should not be inaugurated above three years at most. The commons likewise passed a vote, that the indignities offered to the English, by the subjects of the United States, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade. This was the first open step towards a war with the Dutch. Charles did not confine himself to memorials and remonstrances. Sir Robert Holmes was secretly despatched with a squadron of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa, where he expelled the Dutch from cape Corse, and seized their settlements at cape Verd and in the isle of Goree. He then sailed to America, where he possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New-York, which James the First had granted by patent to the earl of Stirling, but which had never been planted except by the Hollanders.

When the States complained of these hostile measures, the king pretended to be ignorant of Holmes's enterprise ; and the Dutch, finding their applications for redress likely to be eluded, despatched De Ruyter with a fleet, to retaliate on the English. De Ruyter met with no opposition in Guinea. All the new acquisitions of the English, except cape Corse, were recovered from them ; and they were also dispossessed of some old settlements.

The Dutch, however, tried every expedient before they would proceed to extremities ; and their measures were at that time directed by John De Witt, a minister equally eminent for ability and integrity. He caused a navy to be

equipped, surpassing any that had ever before been prepared in the ports of Holland.

As soon as the intelligence arrived of De Ruyter's enterprises, Charles declared war against the States. The

A. D.
1665 English fleet consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail, besides fire-ships and ketches, and was commanded by the duke of York, and under him by prince Rupert, and the earl of Sandwich. Obdam, the Dutch admiral, had nearly an equal force, and on meeting he declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the duke of York, Obdam's ship blew up. This accident disconcerted the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. Tromp alone, son of the famous admiral killed in the former war, bravely sustained with his squadron the efforts of the English, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk or taken; the victors lost only one. In this action the duke of York behaved with great bravery; the earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot, at his side, and covered him with their brains and gore.

The abilities of De Witt were employed in reviving the declining courage of his countrymen; and he soon remedied all the disorders occasioned by the late misfortune. The king of France, who was engaged in a defensive alliance with the States, resolved to support the Dutch in this unequal contest.

The English, however, experienced a more dreadful calamity than even that of a war. The plague had broken out in London, and carried off ninety thousand persons; and the king was obliged to summon a parliament at Oxford.

The king of France had ordered his admiral, the duke of Beaufort, to proceed from Toulon, and support his allies; and the French squadron, consisting of above forty sail, was now supposed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, under the command of De Ruyter, to the number of seventy-six sail, was at sea, in order A. D.
1666 to join the French. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which did not exceed seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who despised the enemy too much, despatched prince Rupert with twenty ships to oppose the duke of Beaufort; and with the re-

mainder, he set sail to give battle to the Dutch. Never did a more memorable engagement take place; whether we consider its long duration, or the desperate courage with which it was fought.

On the first day the wind blew so hard that the English could not use their lower tier of guns; and their sails and rigging were injured by the Dutch chain-shot, a new invention ascribed to De Witt; but the battle was contested till darkness parted the combatants. On the second day, during the action, sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch fleet, while the English had no more than twenty-eight in a situation for fighting. This obliged Albemarle to retreat towards the English coast, which he did with an undaunted countenance, protesting to the earl of Ossory, son to the duke of Ormond, that he would rather blow up his ship and perish than strike to the enemy. The Dutch had come up with the English, and were about to renew the engagement, when the squadron of prince Rupert was desoried, crowding all their sail to reach the scene of action. Next morning the battle began afresh, and continued with great violence till suspended by a mist. The English retired first into their own harbours.

De Ruyter now posted himself at the mouth of the Thames; but the English, under prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to attack him. This engagement was again fierce and obstinate, and three Dutch admirals fell; but De Ruyter maintained the combat, and kept his station, till darkness put an end to the contest. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered, he was obliged to submit to a retreat, which yet he conducted with so much skill as to render it equally honourable to himself as the greatest victory. Full of indignation, however, at yielding the superiority to the English, he frequently exclaimed, "my God! what a wretch I am! among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" The Dutch, by the greatest exertions, saved themselves in their harbours; and the English now rode incontestible masters of the sea.

A calamity, however, happened in London, which occasioned the greatest consternation. A most dreadful fire broke out in the city, and spreading in spite of every endeavour to check its destructive progress, consumed about four hundred streets and thirteen thousand houses. Du-

ring three days and nights the fire continued to advance ; and it was at last extinguished only by the blowing up of houses. Popular prejudices ascribed this calamity to the catholics ; and though no proof ever appeared to authorize such a calumny, it is sanctioned by the inscription on the monument, which records the conflagration.

As the Dutch were every day becoming more formidable, Charles began to be sensible, that all the ends for which the war had been undertaken were likely to prove abortive. This induced him to make the first advances towards an accommodation, and matters were in a state of forwardness, when the king, by imprudently discontinuing his preparations, exposed England to a great affront, and even to great danger.

The penetrating mind of De Witt discovered the opportunity for retrieving the honour of the States ; and he embraced it. The Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, appeared in the Thames, and bursting the chain which had been drawn across the Medway, advanced as far as Upnore castle, and burnt several ships. They next sailed to Portsmouth and Plymouth, and insulted Harwich. The whole coast was in alarm ; and had the French joined the Dutch fleet and invaded England, the most serious consequences might have ensued. The signing of the treaty of Breda, however, save England from this danger ; and the acquisition of New-York was the principal advantage which the English reaped from a war, in which the national character for bravery had appeared with so much lustre.

To appease the people for their disappointments, some sacrifice was necessary ; and the prejudices of the nation pointed out the victim. The sale of Dunkirk, the disgrace at Chatham, and the unsuccessful conclusion of the war, were all attributed to Clarendon. The king himself, who had always revered rather than loved the chancellor, was glad to be freed from a minister, who, amidst the dissolute manners of the court, maintained an inflexible dignity, and would not suffer his master's licentious pleasures to pass without reprehension. The memory of his former services could not delay his fall ; and the great seal was taken from him, and given to sir Orlando Bridgman.

The duke of York in vain exerted his interest in behalf of his father-in-law. The commons voted an impeachment against him ; and Clarendon, finding that neither his

innocence nor his past services were sufficient to protect him, retired into France, where he lived six years after the parliament had decreed his banishment. He employed his leisure chiefly in reducing to order the history of the civil war, for which he had before collected materials, and which is a performance that does honour to his memory.

A. D.
1670. The king's councils, which had always been negligent and fluctuating, now became actually criminal. Men, in whose honour and integrity the nation confided, were excluded from any deliberations; and the whole secret of government was intrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, called the CABAL, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compose.

The dark counsels of the cabal, though from the first they gave anxiety to all men of reflection, were not sufficiently known but by the event. They inspired the king with a jealousy of parliaments, and advised him to recover that authority in the nation, which his predecessors, during so many ages, had possessed; and they insinuated to Charles, that it would be for his interest to detach himself from the triple alliance, not long before concluded between England, Holland and Sweden, and form a close intimacy with France. It was, however, by the artifices of his sister, the duchess of Orleans, that the king was prevailed on to relinquish the most settled maxims of honour and policy, and to finish his engagements with the French monarch, as well for the destruction of Holland, as for a subsequent change of religion in England.

About this time, Blood, a disbanded officer of the protector's, who had been attainted for engaging in a conspiracy in Ireland, meditated revenge on the duke of Ormond, the lord-lieutenant. He seized the duke in the streets of London, but Ormond was saved by his servants. Buckingham was at first suspected of being the author of this attempt; and the marquis of Ossory coming to court, and seeing Buckingham near the king, said to him, "My lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of the late attempt upon my father; but, I give you warning, that if by any means he come to a violent end, I shall consider you as the assassin, and wherever I meet you, I will pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair; and I tell you

this in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I will not fail in the performance."

Soon after, Blood formed the design of carrying off the crown and regalia from the tower, and was very near succeeding in this enterprise. Being secured, however, and examined, he refused to name his accomplices. "The fear of death," he said, "shall never force me either to deny a guilt or betray a friend." The king was moved by an idle curiosity to see a person so remarkable for his courage and his crimes. Blood now considered himself sure of pardon; and he told Charles, that he had been engaged with others to shoot him, but that his heart had been checked with the awe of majesty at the moment of execution. He added, that his associates had bound themselves by the strictest oaths to revenge the death of any one of the confederacy. Whether the king was influenced by fear or admiration, he pardoned the villain, and granted him an estate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland; while old Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office, who had been wounded in defending the crown and regalia, was forgotten and neglected.

Under pretence of maintaining the triple league, which at that very time he had resolved to break, Charles obtained a large supply from the commons. This, however, was soon exhausted by debts and expenses; and, as it seemed dangerous to venture on levying money without consent of parliament, the king declared that the staff of treasurer was ready for any one who could devise the means of supplying his present necessities. Ashley dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter adopted and carried to the king, who granted him the promised reward, and also a peerage, for what ought to have brought him to the gallows. This expedient was the shutting up of the exchequer, and retaining all the payments which should be made into it.*

* It may be necessary to observe, that bankers used to carry their money to the exchequer, and advance it upon the security of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimbursed, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight per cent. or more, for sums which had either been assigned to them without interest, or which they had borrowed at six per cent.; profits which they dearly paid for, by this egregious breach of public faith. The measure was so suddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confusion prevailed in the city, followed

This breach of domestic honour was followed by foreign transactions of a similar complexion. On the most
 A. D. 1672 false and frivolous pretexts, Charles issued a declaration of war against the Dutch; and this was seconded by another from Louis XIV. To oppose this formidable confederacy, De Witt exerted himself to the utmost; but his merits had begotten envy, and the popular affection began to display itself in favour of William III. prince of Orange, then in the twenty-second year of his age, whom De Witt himself had instructed in all the principles of government and sound policy, and who was brought forward as his rival.

The struggle between the two factions retarded every measure. However, at length, a raw army of seventy thousand men was raised, and the prince was appointed both general and admiral of the commonwealth; but his partisans were still unsatisfied, as long as the *perpetual edict* remained in force, by which he was excluded from the stadtholderate.

Devoted solely to the interests of his country, De Witt disdained all party-spirit, and hastened the equipment of a fleet, which put to sea under the command of De Ruyter, who was strongly attached to him. This armament consisted of ninety-one ships of war, and forty-four fire-ships; and with these De Ruyter surprised at Solebay the combined fleets of France and England. The earl of Sandwich had warned the duke of York of his danger, and received only for answer, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehensions; but on the appearance of the enemy, he alone, with his squadron, was prepared for action. Sandwich commanded the van, and rushed into battle with the Dutch. He beat off one ship, and sunk another. He also destroyed three fire-ships, which endeavoured to grapple with him; and though his own vessel was torn almost in pieces with shot, and nearly six hundred out of a thousand men lay dead on the deck, he still continued the contest. Another fire-ship, however, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was

by the ruin of many. Distress every where took place, with a stagnation of commerce, by which the public was universally affected; and men, full of the most dismal apprehensions, were at a loss to account for such unprecedented and iniquitous councils, by which the public credit was destroyed.

now inevitable, and he was advised by his captain to retire; but he preferred death to the appearance of deserting his post.

During this fierce engagement with Sandwich, De Ruyter attacked the duke of York, who fought with such fury for above two hours, that of thirty-two actions, in which the Dutch admiral had been engaged, he declared this was the most severe. The battle continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English, and the loss sustained on both sides was nearly equal.

Louis advanced with his troops into Holland, and overran the country almost without opposition. Amsterdam alone seemed to retain some courage. The sluices were opened, and the neighbouring country laid under water. All the provinces now followed the example, and scrupled not, in this extremity, to restore to the sea those fertile fields which had formerly been won from it.

The combined potentates, finding at last some appearance of opposition, endeavoured to seduce the prince of Orange, who, in consequence of the murder of De Witt, had obtained the whole ascendancy in public affairs. They offered him the sovereignty of Holland, and the protection of England and France, to insure him as well against foreign invasion, as the insurrection of his own subjects. All proposals, however, were generously rejected; and, when Buckingham urged the inevitable destruction that hung over the United Provinces, and asked him, whether he did not see that the commonwealth was ruined, he replied, "there is one certain means by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin; I will die in the last ditch."

In the mean time, the other nations of Europe regarded the subjection of Holland as the forerunner of their own slavery. The emperor began to put himself in motion; and Spain sent some forces to the assistance of the States; but the ally on which the Dutch chiefly relied for support, was the English parliament, which the king's necessities at last obliged him to assemble. The parliament, however, granted a supply, but refused to express the smallest approbation of the war; and they afforded Charles the prospect of this supply, only that they might be allowed to proceed in the redress of grievances.

The money granted by parliament served to equip a fleet, of which prince Rupert was declared admiral; for

the duke of York was set aside by the test act, which passed during the present session. Three different, but indecisive actions, were fought at sea; the last was the most obstinate. The victory, however, in this battle, was as doubtful as in all the actions fought during the present war.

The parliament of England being again assembled, discovered greater symptoms of jealousy than before, and remonstrated against a marriage which the duke of York, who had for some time been a widower, was negotiating with a catholic princess of the house of Modena. What, however, chiefly alarmed the court, was an attack on the members of the cabal, to whose pernicious counsels the parliament imputed all their grievances. This produced a change in the ministry, somewhat in favour of the nation; but the duke having concluded the proposed match, and the war with Holland being more unpopular than ever,

A. D. Charles found that he could obtain no more supplies, while the present measures were pursued.

1674 He resolved, therefore, on a separate peace, which was negotiated under the Spanish ambassador, and was concluded on terms honourable to England, and to the great joy of the people.

The war, however, still continued between Holland and France, and the events to which it gave rise were regarded by the English people with extreme anxiety. Parliament viewed with much jealousy the measures of government, and the king's secret attachments to France. This jealousy was increased by a bill introduced into the

A. D. house of peers, by the earl of Lindesey, the object
1675 of which was, to oblige the members of both houses, and all who possessed any office, to swear, that it was unlawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king, and that they would not at any time endeavour any alteration in the established government, either in church or state. Great opposition was made to this bill, which was debated for seventeen days, and was carried only by two voices in the house of peers. In the commons it was likely to meet with still greater opposition; but a quarrel arising between the two houses, respecting a breach of privilege, the king, finding that no business could be completed in consequence of this altercation, prorogued the parliament.

At this period, the king was the undisputed arbiter of Europe ; and though he was sensible, that so long as the war continued he should enjoy no tranquility at home, he could not bring himself to impose a peace by openly joining either party.

The parliament again assembled, after an adjournment of more than a year, and Charles made strong professions of future economy, and offered his consent to any laws for the farther security of religion and property. A. D.
1677

At first the commons proceeded with some degree of temper, and granted the sum of five hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds for building ships ; but hearing of the defeat of the prince of Orange by marshal Luxemburgh, and of the capture of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, by Louis, they addressed the king, representing the danger to which England was exposed, from the increasing greatness of France, and praying, that by such alliances as he should think fit to enter into, he would endeavour to secure both his own dominions and the Spanish Netherlands. Charles, considering this application as an attack on his measures, replied in general terms, that he would use all means for the preservation of Flanders, consistent with the peace and safety of his kingdoms. This answer was regarded as an evasion, or rather a denial ; and the commons, instead of granting a supply, which the king had demanded, voted an address, wherein they besought his majesty to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States General of the United Provinces, against the growth and power of the French king, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, and to make such other alliances with the confederates as should appear fit and useful to that end. On these conditions they promised him effectual supplies ; but Charles pretended to consider this address as an encroachment on his prerogative ; and after reproving the commons in severe terms, he immediately adjourned both houses.

Had not the king been privately sold to France, this was the critical moment in which he might have preserved the balance of power in Europe, and regained the confidence of his subjects. This opportunity, however, was neglected ; and the conduct of Charles was afterwards justly regarded with jealousy and distrust. But in order to allay, in some measure, the violent discontents which

prevailed in the nation, the king encouraged proposals of marriage from the prince of Orange to the princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York, who had no male issue, and who was consequently heir-apparent to the throne, after her father.

Charles graciously received his nephew, the prince of Orange, at Newmarket ; and the latter was introduced to the princess, whom he found extremely amiable both in her person and manners. In a short time the marriage took place, and gave infinite satisfaction to all parties ; but, notwithstanding the double tie by which the king was now bound to consult the interests of the States General, nothing could detach him from the French alliance ; and he is said to have received from Louis the sum of two millions of livres as the price of prolonging the adjournment of parliament, which, it was feared, would have urged the necessity of joining the allies in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

At length, after various negotiations, a treaty of general peace was signed at Nimeguen, where a congress
 A. D. 1678 had long been held by the ministers of the different powers. By this treaty, France secured the possession of Franche-comte, and of several towns in the Netherlands.

A strong spirit of indignation existed among the English against their sovereign, who had acted a part entirely subservient to the common enemy, and by whose supineness and irresolution Louis had been enabled to make such important acquisitions. In Scotland, too, religious differences ran high ; conventicles multiplied in the west ; the clergy of the established church were insulted ; and the covenanters even met in arms at their places of worship. To repress the rising spirit of presbyterianism, a new parliament had been assembled at Edinburgh, some years before ; and Lauderdale, who had been appointed commissioner, had sufficient influence to get some acts passed which were favourable to the prerogative ; but the severity of his measures against the covenanters raised up a party against him, of which duke Hamilton was the head.

In fact, both the language and the conduct of Charles daily tended to increase the prejudices and suspicions of his subjects. Arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the scope of all his designs ; and while the na-

tion was in this jealous disposition, it is no wonder that every report against the catholics should be readily believed.

One Kirby, a chemist, informed the king, that there was a design against his life ; and that two men called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to shoot him, and sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. This intelligence, he said, had been communicated to him by doctor Tongue, a restless divine, who, being examined, declared to Danby, the treasurer, that the papers which contained information of the conspiracy had been thrust under his door.

The king concluded that the whole was an imposture ; and the matter would probably have been consigned to oblivion, had not the duke of York, on hearing that priests and jesuits, and even his own confessor, had been implicated in the business, insisted that regular inquiry should be made by the council into the pretended conspiracy. Kirby and Tongue were sought after, and were found living in close intimacy with Titus Oates, who was said to have conveyed the first intelligence to Tongue. This man, in whose breast was lodged a secret involving the fate of kings, was allowed to remain in such necessity, that Kirby supplied him with daily bread ; and, as he expected more encouragement from the public, than from the king or his ministers, he judged it proper, before he was presented to the council, to give his evidence before sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, an active magistrate.

The intelligence of Oates tended to this purpose, that the pope, having assumed the sovereignty of England and Ireland, on account of the heresy of the prince and people, had delegated his authority to the jesuits, who had supplied, by commissions, all the chief offices, both civil and military.

It would be useless to enter into all the details of this pretended plot. Suffice it to observe, that Oates was one of the most infamous of mankind ; and that, before the council, he betrayed his impostures in such a manner, as would have discredited the most consistent story, and the most reputable evidence. The plot, however, soon became the source of terror to the people ; and Danby, out of opposition to the French interest, encouraged the story ; and by his suggestions, one Coleman, who had been se-

cretary to the late duchess of York, and had been implicated in this affair, was ordered to be arrested.

Among the papers of Coleman were found several passages, which contained very free remarks relative to the sentiments and principles of the king, and which contributed to diffuse through the nation a panic on account of the popish plot; and the people, regarding the remarks of Coleman as a confirmation of the truth of Oates' story, confounded a business which had no relation to it, with the originally hatched conspiracy.

The murder of sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, which was never accounted for, completed the general delusion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation absolutely incurable. While the nation was in this ferment, the parliament assembled; and the cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other. A solemn fast was voted; and addresses passed for the removal of popish recusants from London. The lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellasis, were impeached for high treason; and both houses, after hearing the evidence of Oates, voted, "that the lords and commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating the king, for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the protestant religion." Oates was applauded and caressed, and encouraged by a pension of 1200 pounds a year.

Such bounty brought forth new witnesses. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next on the stage. At first, he gave intelligence only of Godfrey's murder, which, he said, had been perpetrated in Somerset-house, where the queen lived, by papists, some of whom were servants in her family. Next day, when examined before the lords, he gave an ample account of the plot; and he made his narrative agree as well as he could with that of Oates, which had been published; but, in order to heighten the effect, and render himself more acceptable, he added other circumstances still more dreadful and extraordinary.

Though the king ridiculed the plot, and all who believed it, yet he found it necessary to adopt the popular opinion before the parliament. A bill had been introduced for a new test, in which popery was denominated idolatry; and

all members who refused this test were to be excluded from both houses. The duke of York, in the most pathetic manner, moved, that an exception might be admitted in his favour; and he protested, that whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul, and never should appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding this appeal, he prevailed only by two voices.

The public ferment was increased by the treachery of Montague, who had been ambassador at Paris, and who had procured a seat in the house of commons. He laid before the house a letter from the treasurer Danby, countersigned by the king, in which appeared the most palpable proofs of Charles's intrigues with the French court. Danby was immediately impeached by the commons, but the peers refused to commit him; and a great contest being likely to arise between the two houses, the king thought it advisable, first to prorogue, and afterwards to dissolve the parliament.

The want of money, however, compelled Charles to summon a new parliament; but being soon ^{A. D.} 1679 alarmed at their refractory disposition, in order to appease his people and the parliament, he desired the duke of York to withdraw beyond sea, that no farther suspicion of popish councils might remain. The duke readily complied; but first required an order for that purpose from the king, lest his absenting himself should be considered as a proof of fear or guilt; and he also desired that his brother would satisfy him, as well as the public, by declaring the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth.

This nobleman was a natural son of the king's by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration. He possessed all the qualities which could engage the affections of the people; and, in proportion as the duke of York was the object of hatred, on account of his religion, Monmouth rose higher in the public favour. Some even flattered him with the hopes of succeeding to the crown; and the story of a contract of marriage between the king and his mother was industriously spread abroad, and eagerly received by the people. Charles, however, to put an end to all intrigues of this kind, as well as to remove the duke of York's apprehensions, in full council made a declara-

tion of Monmouth's illegitimacy, on which York willingly complied with the king's desire, and retired to Brussels.

Charles, however, could not obtain the confidence of the parliament. The impeachment of Danby was revived, and the king, in order to screen his minister, granted him a full pardon; but it was pretended that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the commons; and so resolute was parliament in support of its pretensions, that Danby was committed a close prisoner to the tower.

It being expected that a bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne would be brought into parliament, Charles projected certain limitations, by which the successor, if a papist, would be deprived of the chief branches of royalty. These concessions, however, were rejected; and a bill was brought in for the absolute exclusion of the duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was therein declared, that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's death or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession after the duke, and that all who supported his title should be punished as rebels and traitors. This important bill passed the lower house by a majority of seventy-nine.

Soon after, the standing army, and the king's guards, were voted by the commons to be illegal; and that bulwark of personal and national liberty, the *habeas corpus* act, which provided against arbitrary imprisonment, was passed the same session.

In the mean time, the impeachment of the five popish lords, with that of the earl of Danby, was carried on with great vigour; but a dispute arising between the two houses, about allowing the bishops to vote on the trial of Danby, afforded the king a favourable pretext for dissolving the parliament.

This vigorous measure disappointed the malcontents; but even the recess of parliament afforded no interruption to the prosecution of the catholics accused of the plot. Whitbread, provincial of the jesuits, Fenwic, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of the same order, were condemned and executed on the most incoherent and doubtful evidence. Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, by whom all the concerns of the jesuits were managed, was also convicted; and the first check which the informers received, was on

the trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician. The acquittal of Wakeman was a great mortification to the prosecutors of the plot, and fixed an indelible stain on Oates, Bedloe, and their abettors.

The discontents in England excited the attention of the Scottish covenanters, who, regarding Sharpe, the primate, as an apostate from their principles, and an unrelenting persecutor, dragged him from his coach, and put him to death. This atrocious action gave rise to a violent persecution against the covenanters, who, finding themselves deeply involved in guilt, made themselves masters of the city of Glasgow, dispossessed the established clergy, and issued proclamations, declaring that they fought against the king's supremacy, against popery and prelacy, and against a popish successor.

The king, apprehensive of the consequences of this insurrection, despatched Monmouth into Scotland with a small body of English cavalry. That nobleman being joined by the Scottish guards, and some regiments of militia, marched with great celerity against the enemy, who had taken post near Bothwell castle. Their army never exceeded eight thousand men; and, being without officers and experience, they were speedily routed, with the loss of seven hundred killed, and one thousand two hundred taken prisoners. Monmouth treated these with great humanity, and an act of indemnity was soon after passed.

Charles falling ill at Windsor, such an affectionate regard was shown him, and such consternation seized all ranks of men, that, to use an expression of sir William Temple's, the king's death was regarded as the end of the world. The duke of York had been privately sent for; but, when he arrived, the king was out of danger. The journey, however, was attended with important consequences. He prevailed on the king to disgrace Monmouth, whose projects were now known and avowed; and he obtained leave himself to retire into Scotland, on pretence of quieting the apprehensions of the English, but, in reality, with a view of securing his interests in that kingdom.

From the favour and encouragement which the parliament had given to informers, the nation had got into a vein of credulity. One Dangerfield, a man of the most infamous character, was the author or denouncer of a new plot, called the *meal-tub* plot, from the place where some

papers relative to it were found. The bottom of this affair it is difficult, and not material, to discover. It only appears, that Dangerfield, under pretence of betraying the conspiracies of the presbyterians, had been countenanced by some catholics of condition, and had even gained admission to the duke of York. Which side he originally intended to cheat is uncertain ; but finding the nation more inclined to believe in a popish than a presbyterian plot, he fell in with the prevailing humour.

The duke of Monmouth returned without leave, and making a triumphant procession through many parts of the kingdom, increased the present ferment. Great endeavours were used to obtain the king's consent for the meeting of parliament. The crown was attacked by tumultuous petitions. Wherever the court party prevailed, addresses were framed, expressing the deepest *abhorrence*

A. D. 1680 of popular encroachments. Hence the nation was distinguished into *petitioners* and *abhorrrers*. Besides these appellations, which were soon forgotten, this is the epoch of the epithets *WHIG* and *TORY*,* which have been bandied about for nearly a century and a half, with little appropriate meaning, and frequently to the injury both of individuals and the public.

After a long interval, the king resolved to assemble the parliament ; but all the mollifying expressions which he used in addressing that assembly, had no effect on the commons, who proceeded in their former career, and seemed bent on renewing the bill for excluding the duke of York from the succession ; and the friends of Monmouth hoped that the exclusion of that prince would advance their patron to the throne. In the commons, the bill passed by a great majority ; but in the house of peers, where the king expected to oppose it with success, the court-party prevailed, and it was rejected after a long and violent debate.

The commons discovered much ill humour on this disappointment, and resumed the impeachment of the catho-

* The court-party reproached their antagonists with resembling the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who had obtained the name of *whigs* ; and the country party found a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of *tory* was affixed. Hence the origin of these two terms of reproach.

lie lords ; and as viscount Stafford, from his age and infirmities, was least able to defend himself, he became the first victim. He protested, that the only treason of which he had ever been guilty, had been entering into schemes for procuring a toleration to the catholics, at least a mitigation of the penal laws enacted against them. The populace, who had exulted at his trial and condemnation, were melted into tears at the tender fortitude which he displayed on the scaffold.

This was the last blood that was shed on account of the popish plot. The commons, however, still found new occasions to exercise their talents against the court ; and besides insisting on the exclusion, they proceeded to bring in other bills of an alarming nature. The king, seeing no hopes of restoring the commons to a better temper, came to the resolution of proroguing them ; but the house having got intelligence of his design a short time before it was put in execution, in the most tumultuous manner passed some extraordinary resolutions, which were indirectly subversive of the throne.

Soon after this session was closed, Charles summoned a new parliament, and, in order to prevent those tumults, which attended their assembling at Westminster, from the vicinity of a populous city, he directed them to meet him at Oxford. Against this, Monmouth and fifteen peers protested, on the ground that the two houses would be there exposed to the swords of the papists and their adherents. These insinuations inflamed the people still more ; the leaders came to parliament, attended not only by their servants, but by numerous retainers ; and the assembly at Oxford resembled more a Polish diet than any English parliament.

The commons consisted nearly of the same members, and fell instantly into the same measures, the impeachment of Danby, the inquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion. So violent were they on this last article, that no expedient, however plausible, could be hearkened to. One of the king's ministers proposed, that the duke should be banished five hundred miles from England, and on the king's demise, the next heir should be constituted regent with regal power ; yet even this expedient, which would have left the duke of York only the bare title of king, failed to satisfy the house. Charles, seeing no pro-

bability of a better temper in the commons, without sacrificing his brother, dissolved the parliament ; and resolved to depend on economy and retrenchment for alleviating the necessities under which he laboured.

As the king no longer dreaded the clamours of the country party, he permitted the duke of York to pay him a visit. The duke chose to take his passage by sea ; and the ship in which he embarked struck on a sand-bank, and was lost ; but he escaped, with a few of his party, in the barge. It is said, that while many persons of rank and quality were drowning, and among the rest, Hyde, his brother-in-law, the duke was very clamorous to save the dogs and the priests.

Through the influence of the crown, two sheriffs, North and Rich, were chosen in the city on account of their devotion to the court ; but as the contest might be renewed every year, a project was formed to make the king master at once, not only of the city, but of all the corporations in England. A writ of *quo warranto** was issued against the city, which it was pretended, had forfeited all its privileges, on account of some irregularities in its proceedings several years before ; and though the cause of the city was ably defended against the attorney and solicitor generals, the judges decided against it. After sentence had been pronounced, the citizens petitioned the king, who agreed to restore them their charter, but obliged them to submit to the following regulations : that no mayor, sheriff, recorder, common-serjeant, town-clerk, or coroner, should be admitted to the exercise of his office without his majesty's approbation ; that if the king disapproved twice of the mayor or sheriffs elected, he may, by commission, appoint those magistrates ; that the mayor and court of aldermen may, with his majesty's leave, displace any magistrate ; and that no alderman, in case of a vacancy, shall be elected without the consent of the court of aldermen, who, if they disapproved twice of the choice, may fill the vacancy.

All the corporations in England, from this precedent, saw how ineffectual it would be to contend with the court, and therefore, most of them were induced to surrender

* That is, an inquiry into the validity of its charter.

A. D.
1683 their charters into the king's hands. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring the charters; and all offices of power or profit, by the restrictions introduced, were now left at the disposal of the crown. The conduct of Charles in these proceedings was a most violent infraction of personal and national liberty, and sufficiently proves the arbitrary and tyrannical principles by which he governed. Every friend to liberty must allow, that the nation, whose constitution had been thus violated, was justified in employing expedients for recovering the security of which it had been so unjustly deprived.

There was a party, who, even before this last iniquitous proceeding, which laid the whole constitution at the mercy of the king, meditated plans of resistance to the measures of the court. The duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, and lord Gray, solicited, not only the capital, but the nobility and gentry of several counties, to rise in arms, and oppose the succession of the duke. The whole train was ready to take fire; but was prevented by the caution of lord Russel, who, in opposition to Shaftesbury, the prime mover, induced Monmouth to delay the enterprise. Shaftesbury, enraged at this delay, abandoned all hopes of success, and withdrew to Holland, where he died soon after, little regretted by his friends, or noticed by his enemies.

At last, a regular project of insurrection was formed. The council consisted of Monmouth, Russel, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson to the great parliamentary leader. These men entered into an agreement with Argyle and the Scottish malcontents, who engaged to bring the covenanters into the field. The conspirators, however, differed widely in their views. Sidney and Essex were for a republic; Monmouth entertained hopes of obtaining the crown for himself; and Russel and Hampden were attached to the ancient constitution, and wished only a redress of grievances, and the exclusion of the duke of York. Howard, who was a man of no principle, was ready to espouse any party, to which his interest might lead him. But, discordant as they seemed in their characters and views, they were all united in a common hatred of the heir-apparent.

While these schemes were concerting among the leaders, an inferior order of conspirators held frequent meetings, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth,

and the cabal of six ; and the only persons of this confederacy, who had access to the leaders of the party, were Ferguson, and colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer. These persons indulged in the most criminal discourse ; and proposed to assassinate Charles at a farm called the Rye-house, which lay on the road to Newmarket, whither the king commonly went once a year ; but the house in which his majesty lived there happening to take fire, obliged him to leave that place sooner than he intended, and thus the execution of the design was prevented.

Among the conspirators was one Keiling, who, being under a criminal prosecution, in order to obtain a pardon, betrayed his associates to secretary Jenkins. Search being made after the conspirators, colonel Rumsey, and West, a lawyer, finding the perils to which they were exposed, surrendered themselves, and turned evidence. Rumsey made known the meetings of the leaders ; and orders were issued for arresting the great men engaged in the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded ; Russel was sent to the tower ; Gray was arrested, but escaped ; and Howard, a profligate man, being taken, in hopes of pardon and reward, revealed the whole plot. Essex, Sidney, and Hampden, were immediately apprehended ; and some of the inferior conspirators being convicted, paid the forfeit of their lives.

The condemnation of these criminals was preparatory to the trial of lord Russel, a nobleman illustrious for his virtues, and highly popular, against whom Rumsey, Shephard, and Howard, appeared. It was proved, that an insurrection had been resolved on, and the surprisal of the king's guards taken into consideration by the prisoner ; but still, with regard to law, there remained an important difficulty. By an act passed soon after the restoration, to consult on a rebellion, during Charles's life time, was declared treason ; but it was required, that the prosecution should be commenced within six months after the crime had been committed. The facts sworn to by Rumsey and Shephard were beyond the six months required by law ; and to the other circumstances, Howard was the only evidence, whereas, by the statute of Edward, III., the crime of treason must be proved by two witnesses.

Russel perceived this irregularity, and desired to have the point argued by counsel ; but the chief-justice told him, that this favour could not be granted, unless he pre-

Arrest of the Queen of Denmark.

Lord Russell parting with his Family.

viously confessed the facts ; and the artificial confounding of the two species of treason was the principal, though not the only hardship, of which this unfortunate nobleman had reason to complain on his trial. His veracity would not allow him to deny the conspiracy for an insurrection ; but he solemnly protested, that he had never entertained any design against the life of the king. After a short deliberation, the jury brought him in guilty.

Applications were made to the king for a pardon ; and even money, to a very considerable amount, was offered to the duchess of Portsmouth by the earl of Bedford, father to Russel ; but Charles was inexorable.

Lady Russel, daughter and heir of the earl of Southampton, a woman of the most exalted merit, threw herself at the king's feet, and pleaded with many tears the services of her father as an atonement for the error of her husband. Finding her supplications ineffectual, she summoned up all the fortitude of her soul, and even endeavoured, by her example, to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent composure, they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. "The bitterness of death is now past," said he, as he turned to her. To the last, he maintained the same dignified composure, the same good-humoured equanimity for which he had been always distinguished. He was the most popular among his own party, and admired for his virtues even by the opposite faction ; and his melancholy fate united every heart, sensible of humanity, in a tender compassion for him.

Algernon Sidney, the apostle of liberty, was next brought to trial. This gallant person, son to the earl of Leicester, had been deeply implicated in the civil wars ; but he opposed the usurpation of Cromwell with zeal and courage ; and, after the restoration, he chose voluntary banishment, rather than submit to a government and family which he abhorred. At length, he returned to England, and applied for the king's pardon, which he obtained.

Howard was again the only witness against Sidney ; but, as the law required two, a strange expedient was adopted to supply the deficiency. In searching the prisoner's closets, some discourses on government were found, in which he maintained principles, favourable indeed to liberty, but such as the most dutiful subjects have been known to embrace, and which, even if they had been

published, could not have infringed any positive law. These papers, however, were said to be equivalent to a second witness; and the violent and inhuman judge Jefferies easily prevailed on a prejudiced jury to give a verdict against Sidney. He complained, with great reason, of the iniquity of the sentence; and he died glorying in the "good old cause," in which from his youth, he said, he had enlisted himself.

Howard was also the sole witness against Hampden, who, therefore, was indicted only for a misdemeanor; and sentence being obtained against him, the exorbitant fine of forty thousand pounds was imposed on him.

On the day that Russel was tried, Essex, a man eminent for his virtues and abilities, was found in the tower with his throat cut. Whether he committed suicide, or was murdered by others, has never been clearly ascertained.

On the detection of this conspiracy, loyal addresses arrived from all parts of the kingdom; and, in order to increase his present popularity, Charles judged it
 A. D.
 1684 proper to give his niece, the lady Anne, in marriage to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark; but, though the king had recovered his former popularity in the nation, and was enabled to govern without a parliament, it is certain he was neither happy nor satisfied. The violent temper of his brother gave him apprehension and uneasiness; and, in opposing some of the duke's hasty counsels, he was heard one day to say, "brother, I am too old to go again on my travels; you may, if you choose it." It was evident, that the king meditated some change of measures; and it was believed, that he intended to send the duke of York to Scotland, to recal Monmouth, to assemble his parliament, and to dismiss his obnoxious ministers; but amidst these wise and virtuous designs, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, and, after languishing a few days, expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. Having always enjoyed a good constitution, his death begat suspicion of poison; but when all circumstances are considered, this suspicion appears without foundation. His loss, however, was sincerely lamented by his people, as well on account of their affection for him, as of their dread of his successor.

During the few days of the king's illness, he showed a

total indifference to the devotions and exhortations of the clergy of the established church, but received the sacrament from the hands of catholic priests ; and in his cabinet were found two papers, which contained arguments in favour of the Romish communion, and which the duke of York had the imprudence immediately to publish.

Charles, when considered as a companion, appears the most amiable and engaging of men ; he had a ready wit, was well-bred, and good-natured. When, however, we view his public character, he evidently sinks in our estimation. As a sovereign, his conduct was dangerous to his people, and disgraceful to himself. Negligent of the interests of the nation, careless of its glory, averse to its religion ; jealous of its liberty, lavish of its treasures, and sparing only of its blood, he exposed it by its measures to the danger of a civil war, and even to the ruin and ignominy of a foreign conquest.

CHAP. XVII

The reign of James II.

THE first act of James's reign was to assemble the privy-council, and declare his resolution to maintain the established government in church and state ; but in the first exercise of his authority, he showed the ^{A. D.} ¹⁶⁸⁵ insincerity of his professions. All the customs, and the greater part of the excise, had been settled by parliament on the late king during life, and consequently the grant had expired ; but James, without regarding the laws, issued a proclamation, ordering payment of the customs and excise as before ; and he went also openly, and with all the ensigns of dignity, to mass. By this imprudence he displayed at once his arbitrary disposition, and the bigotry of his principles.

However little inclined James might be to an English parliament, he found it absolutely necessary to summon one ; but his speech to that assembly was calculated rather to awaken their fears than to work on their affections. He required them to settle his revenue, and that during his life, as had been done to his brother. " There is, indeed," added he, " one popular argument against complying with my demand. Men may think, that by feeding me, from time to time, with such supplies as they think

convenient, they will better secure frequent meetings of parliament; but as this is the first time I speak to you from the throne, I must plainly tell you, that such an expedient would be very improper to employ with me, and that the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well."

The parliament was thus placed in a very critical situation, either of opposing James at once, or of complying with his wishes; and the commons voted the same revenue to his present majesty during life, as had been enjoyed by the late king. The lords were no less compliant; and they endeavoured to break in pieces the remains of the popish plot. Oates, who had been tried and convicted of perjury, was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, besides being publicly whipped, and five times a year exposed in the pillory. The impudence of this man still supported him, and he made solemn appeals to heaven for the truth of his testimony.*

The conviction of Oates was noticed by the house of peers; and the popish lords Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Tyrone, together with the earl of Danby, were freed from their impeachment; but the course of parliamentary proceedings was interrupted by the news of Monmouth's arrival in the west, with three ships from Holland. Parliament immediately passed a bill of attainder against Monmouth, and voted, that they would adhere to James with their lives and fortunes; and they granted the king a supply of four hundred thousand pounds for suppressing the rebellion.

The unfortunate Monmouth, pursued by the severity of James, even in his retirement on the continent, and urged by the impatient humour of Argyle, who set out for Scotland in his cause, was driven, contrary to his judgment as well as inclination, to make a rash and premature attempt. Landing at Lyme, in Dorset, with scarcely a hundred followers, the popularity of his name soon drew to his standard above two thousand horse and foot. At Taunton he assumed the regal title; and he was proclaimed king at Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome; but he allowed the ex-

* On the accession of king William, Oates recovered his liberty, and had a pension of four hundred pounds a year settled on him

pectations of the people to languish, without attempting any considerable undertaking.

Hearing that Argyle had been defeated, Monmouth fell into despondency; but his followers showed more courage, and seemed determined to adhere to him in every fortune. The negligence of Feversham, the royal general, invited Monmouth to attack the king's army at Sedgemoor, where, after a combat of three hours, the rebels gave way. About one thousand five hundred fell in the battle and pursuit; and the unhappy Monmouth fled from the field, above twenty miles, till his horse sunk under him. He then changed clothes with a peasant, in order to conceal himself; but at last, he was found lying in the bottom of a ditch, and covered with fern. His body, depressed with fatigue and hunger, and his mind, by the memory of past misfortunes, and the prospect of future ills, he burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and seemed still to indulge the fond hope and the desire of life. He wrote to James in the most submissive terms, conjuring him to spare the issue of a brother; and the king, finding such symptoms of contrition and despondency in the unhappy prisoner, admitted him into his presence, in hopes of extorting a discovery of his accomplices; but Monmouth would not purchase life, however loved, at the price of so much infamy. Finding all efforts vain, he prepared himself for death, with a spirit worthy of his rank and character, and was attended to the scaffold by the tears of the people, with whom he had ever been a favourite.

This victory, if it had been managed with prudence, would have tended to confirm the power and authority of the king; but the cruelty with which it was prosecuted by the savage colonel Kirk, and the infamous judge Jefferies, hastened the ruin of James. Besides those who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one victims are said to have been executed; and all the rigours of justice, unabated by any appearance of clemency, were fully displayed by the barbarous Jefferies.

In Scotland, the fate of Argyle had been decided before that of Monmouth. The parliament of that country acknowledged the king's authority to be absolute; and with such a servile train, the patriotic virtues of Argyle could stand no chance of obtaining a pardon. He was

seized, and carried to Edinburgh, where, after enduring many indignities, he was publicly executed.

Elated with this tide of short-lived prosperity, James began to undervalue the authority of an English parliament; and in a speech to that assembly, he observed, that he had employed many catholic officers, in whose favour he had dispensed with the law, which requires the test to be taken by every one possessed of any public office; and he also declared, that, having received the benefit of their service, he was resolved neither to expose them afterwards to disgrace, nor himself to the want of their assistance. The commons voted an address to the king against the dispensing power; but this address was ill received by James, who returned a haughty reply. At their next meeting, the commons proceeded to the consideration of a supply, and went so far in their submissions as to establish funds for paying the sums voted. The king therefore had, in effect, obtained almost a complete victory over the lower house, which ceased to be the guardian of the liberties and property of the people.

In the upper house, however, Compton, bishop of London, in his own name and that of his brethren, moved that a day should be appointed for taking the king's speech into consideration; and notwithstanding the opposition of Jefferies, the chancellor, the bishop's motion prevailed. James was so much irritated, that he proceeded immediately to prorogue, and finding that he could not break the firmness of the leading members, he finally dissolved the parliament.

The open declaration of James, to dispense with the tests, had diffused an universal alarm throughout the nation, had alienated the church, and even disgusted the army. The former horror against popery was revived; and this was further increased by Louis XIV. having, about the same time, revoked the edict of Nantes, in consequence of which, nearly fifty thousand refugees passed over into England; and, from their representations, all men dreaded the projects which were supposed to be formed by the king for abolishing the protestant religion.

Though James had failed in prevailing on the parliament, he was successful in establishing his dispensing power, by a verdict of the judges. Four catholic lords

were also brought into the privy-council; the king was openly zealous in making converts; and men plainly saw, that the only means of acquiring his majesty's confidence, was the sacrifice of their religion. Those who had any regard to decency, any attachment to the liberties of their country, or to the protestant faith, now withdrew from the ministry, or were dismissed, and their places were filled with renegadoes, who squared their belief by their interest. A. D. 1686

All judicious persons of the catholic communion easily foresaw the consequences of these violent measures; but James was entirely governed by the rash counsels of the queen; and of his confessor, father Peters, a jesuit and privy-counsellor. The king issued a proclamation, suspending all the penal laws in ecclesiastical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conscience to all his subjects. In order to facilitate the reception of this edict of toleration, James began to pay court to the dissenters; but his intentions were so obvious, that he found it impossible to obtain the confidence of the non-conformists; and if the dissenters had been blinded by his professions, the measures pursued in Scotland, and also in Ireland, were sufficient to discover the secret. A. D. 1687

James, however, did not long affect to conceal his designs. He publicly sent the earl of Castlemaine ambassador-extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope, and to bring about a reconciliation with the holy see; but the pontiff, rightly concluding that a scheme conducted with such indiscretion could never succeed, treated the ambassador with neglect, and thought it sufficient to send a nuncio to England, who was solemnly received at Windsor, in opposition to an express act of parliament, by which it was made treason to hold any correspondence with the pope.

By virtue of his prerogative, James had suspended the penal laws, and dispensed with the test; and he would gladly have obtained the sanction of parliament to these acts of power; but, finding that impossible, he forebore to convene that assembly, and proceeded to strengthen the catholic party by every expedient. The church and the universities had hitherto been shut against the catholics; and though the university of Oxford had lately made a solemn profession of passive obedience, yet when the king

sent a mandate for appointing one Farmer, a convert to popery, president of Magdalen college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, the fellows chose Dr. Hough, a man whose virtue and firmness rendered him not only proper for the office but for the times. On inquiry, Farmer was found guilty of the most scandalous vices; and a new mandate was issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man also of a prostitute character, who atoned for his vices by his willingness to embrace the catholic religion; but the society representing that by the statutes, Parker could not be chosen, the president and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college; and Parker was appointed president.

The next measure of the court rendered the breach between the king and the ecclesiastics incurable. James had published a second declaration of indulgence, which he ordered to be read in all the churches, immediately after divine service. The clergy in general determined to oppose this violence done to their consciences; and Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawney, of Bristol, met privately with the primate, and drew up a petition to the king, that he would not insist on their reading the declaration. For this the prelates were committed to the Tower; and the crown lawyers were directed to prosecute them for the seditious libel, which it was pretended, they had composed and uttered.

The bishops, however, notwithstanding the machinations of the court, were acquitted; and the joy which the intelligence of this event diffused throughout the kingdom is indescribable. The army encamped on Hounslow-heath soon caught the contagion; and James, who had that day reviewed the troops, and was in the general's tent, was surprised to hear a general uproar in the camp; inquiring the cause, he was told by Lord Feversham, "it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he, "but so much the worse for them." Nothing, however, could check the mad career of James. He struck out two of the judges who had appeared to favour the bishops; and he issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration; and to the honour of the

established church be it recorded, that only two hundred complied with his edict.

A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was delivered of a son, to the great joy of the king and all zealous catholics; but so violent was the animosity against the court, that calumny ascribed to James the design of imposing on the world a supposititious child. He was baptized by the name of James, and was afterwards known by the title of "the pretender."

The prince of Orange, who had married the princess Mary of England, eldest daughter of the king, had maintained a very prudent conduct; and James strongly solicited the consent of the prince to the repeal of the penal statutes and of the test; but the latter declared his refusal to concur in these measures, unless the same should be sanctioned by parliament. This declaration gave courage to the protestants, while it excited the indignation of James, who prepared to make war on the United States. Many persons of consequence and talents, flying from England, offered their services to William, and requested his active interference.

The prince, after duly weighing the matter, and finding the whigs, the tories, the churchmen, and the non-conformists, forgetting their animosities, all leagued in the design of resisting their deluded sovereign, yielded to the very respectable and numerous applications that had been made to him; and having secretly augmented the Dutch navy, levied troops, and raised considerable sums of money, he waited for a favourable opportunity of embarking for England, which regarded him as its sole protector.

Louis, who had penetrated the designs of the prince, conveyed the intelligence to James; but the king treated the information with contempt, and refused the assistance which the French monarch offered on this occasion. At last, however, when convinced that he might soon expect a powerful invasion from Holland, James opened his eyes, and found himself on the brink of a frightful precipice. He now began to retract those fatal measures which had created him so many foreign and domestic enemies; but when intelligence arrived, that a great disaster had befallen the Dutch fleet, he recalled, for some time, the concessions which he had made.

Meanwhile, a declaration from the prince of Orange was

dispersed over the kingdom, and met with universal approbation. All the grievances of the nation were there enumerated; and to redress these, the prince said, that he intended to come over into England with an armed force.

After a prosperous voyage, he landed his army safely in Torbay, on the fifth day of November, and, marching to Exeter, caused his declaration to be there published. By degrees, all England was in commotion; and every day showed some effect of that universal combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king; but the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection of the army, all the officers of which seemed disposed to regard only the interests of their country and their religion. Lord Cornbuzy carried over three regiments to the prince; and several officers informed Feversham, the general, that they could not in conscience draw their swords against the Dutch. Even lord Churchill, who had been raised from the rank of a page, and owed his whole fortune to the bounty of the crown, influenced by principle alone, deserted his master, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king.

James, however, received a still more fatal blow in the defection of George, Prince of Denmark, his son-in-law, and his daughter Anne, who both joined the prince. When intelligence of this reached the king, the unfortunate sovereign burst into tears. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!" His last acts of authority were to issue writs for a new parliament, and to send Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. He even hearkened to imprudent counsel, by which he was prompted to desert the throne. Alarmed by the general disaffection, and impelled by his own fears and those of others, James precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping into France; and, having previously sent off the queen and the infant prince, he himself disappeared in the night-time, and hastened to embark and follow them.

By this rash act, the reins of the government were thrown up, and the populace became masters; and rising in a tumultuous manner, they destroyed the mass-houses, and rifled the places in which the catholics had lodged

Queen Margaret and the Robber.

Judge Jeffries seized by the People.

their most valuable effects. Jefferies, the chancellor, who had disguised himself, was discovered, and treated with the greatest severity, in consequence of which he died soon after. Feversham no sooner heard of the king's flight, than he disbanded his troops, without either disarming or paying them.

In the mean time, however, James had been seized at Feversham, and obliged to return to London, where the populace, moved by compassion, or actuated by loyalty, received him with shouts and acclamations. During his abode at Whitehall, little attention was paid him; and desiring permission to retire to Rochester, a town near the sea coast, his request was immediately granted. He privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him, and arrived safely at Ambletouse, in Picardy, whence he hastened to St. Germain's. Louis received him with the greatest generosity and respect, a circumstance more honourable to him than his most splendid victories.

Thus ended the reign of James; a prince who possessed many of the qualities which form a good citizen, but whose bigotry and arbitrary principles rendered him odious as a king. In domestic life, his conduct was irreproachable; and even while he was sacrificing every thing to the advancement of popery, his frugality of the public money was remarkable, and his jealousy of the national honour commendable; but his invasion of the rights and liberties of the people tarnished every other virtue, and his disregard to the religion and constitution of his country could not be compensated by any other qualities. In principle, he was a despot and a bigot; and his abdication of the throne, and consequent exclusion, have proved the happiness of this kingdom.

Thus the prince of Orange, with little effusion of blood, effected the deliverance of England, and dethroned a king possessed of a formidable navy and a numerous army. Still a more difficult task remained, to obtain for himself that crown which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. To claim it by right of conquest would have been destructive to the principles of liberty, which he professed to establish; and he wisely resolved to leave the settlement of this important affair to the guidance and direction of the nation.

In the convention which was assembled, it was evident

A. D. that the whig party chiefly prevailed; and the commons sent up a vote to the peers, "that king **1689** James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and the people; and having, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when carried to the upper house, met with great opposition; and the last clause, which declared the throne vacant, was omitted; but the commons still insisted on their original vote, and some peers deserting to the whig interest, the whole was passed, and received the sanction of both houses.

During these debates, the prince had maintained a respectful silence; but, at length, he expressed his sentiments on the present situation of affairs. He observed, that some insisted on appointing a regent, and that others were desirous of bestowing the crown on the princess Mary alone; that though he pretended not to interfere in their deliberation, he thought it incumbent on him to inform them, that he was determined not to be the regent, nor would he accept a crown which depended on the life or will of another; and, therefore, if they were inclined to either of these two plans of settlement, it would be wholly out of his power to give them any further assistance.

The princess seconded the views of her husband, and the princess Anne agreeing to be postponed in the succession to the crown, facilitated the public settlement. The principal parties being thus agreed, the convention passed a bill, settling the crown on the prince and princess of Orange, the sole administration to remain in the prince; the princess Anne to succeed after the death of the prince and princess of Orange; and her issue after those of the princess, but before those of the prince by any other wife. To this settlement the convention annexed a declaration of rights, in which the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed, and more exactly defined, than at any former period.

Soon after, similar resolutions having been passed by the Scottish convention, William and Mary were proclaimed in both kingdoms.

CHAP. XVIII.

The reign of William and Mary.

THE revolution, as it is called, formed a new epoch in the constitution, which now assumed a different aspect ; and, it may be affirmed, without any danger of exaggeration, that, since that period, the British have ^{A. D.} 1689 enjoyed a system of government the most perfect and the most free that was ever established in the world.

While, however, William and Mary were thus peaceably established on the throne of Great Britain, a very different scene presented itself in Ireland. The catholics in that country saw with reluctance the events which had taken place, and testified their adherence to James.

The earl of Tyrconnel, the lord deputy, disguised his sentiments, and amused William with false hopes of submission, till James should be able to supply him with reinforcements from France, which he earnestly solicited by private messages.

In the mean time, the whigs, who were the prevailing party in the state, determined that the revenue for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity, should be granted from one year to another only, in order that William, finding himself constantly dependant on parliament, might endeavour to merit a renewal of the grant by a just and popular government. The king, however, was disgusted with these restraints, which he considered as marks of distrust ; and the tories seized this occasion to foment his jealousy against their adversaries. William recommended to parliament a bill of indemnity, as the most effectual means of putting an end to all controversies and distinctions ; but this was defeated for some time by the address of the whigs, who were sensible that the bill would open a way to the preferment of the tories. The two parties, however, were now so equally balanced in parliament, that the bill for restoring corporations to their ancient rights passed by one vote only, with the rejection of two clauses against those who had been concerned in the surrender of charters.

The king found himself so perplexed between two factions, which he equally feared, that he had resolved to leave the government in the queen's hands, and retire into

Holland; but he was dissuaded from this purpose by the marquis of Caermarthen and other noblemen whom he consulted, and finding the tories more compliant, he began to gratify them at the expense of the whigs. The latter were foiled or out-voted in several favourite schemes; and the earl of Shrewsbury resented this so highly, that he resigned his office of secretary of state.

William having wholly given himself up to the politics of the tories, was soon gratified with the hereditary excise during life, and the customs for four years. The bill of indemnity, so earnestly recommended by the king, was also passed, with the exception of thirty persons.

At this period, the great scheme which William had projected, of a confederacy against France, began to take effect. The emperor negotiated an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the States General; and Spain and England were invited to accede to the treaty. William, who was at the head of this confederacy, found no difficulty in persuading the English to undertake a war against their ancient rivals; and the commons unanimously resolved, that in case his majesty should think fit to engage in hostilities with France, they would enable him to carry on the war with vigour. This was very agreeable to the king; and war was immediately declared against the French monarch.

Louis XIV., who had long rendered himself the terror and the scourge of Europe, was not dejected by this confederacy against him. He supplied James with a considerable fleet for the invasion of Ireland, and the ex-prince, with about twelve hundred British subjects, and several of the most distinguished French officers, landed at Kinsale, on the 22d of March, 1689. The earl of Tyrconnel had assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, for the service of his master; and the whole kingdom, except the city of Londonderry, received James with submission.

Finding his affairs in Ireland in a desperate state, and that he had been deceived by those in whom he had confided, William determined to pass over into that island in person. A general engagement took place on the banks of the Boyne, in which the Irish were entirely defeated; and James retired to Dublin, whence he fled a second time into France; but the hopes and the spirits of his party were not yet vanquished.

A. D.
1690

A French fleet being discovered off Plymouth, the earl of Torrington, the English admiral, reinforced with a Dutch squadron, put to sea, in order to intercept the enemy, if an attempt should be made to sail up the channel. After the hostile fleets had continued in sight of each other for five days, lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Blea-chey Head; and an engagement ensued, in which the English were defeated, with the loss of two of their own ships, and of six vessels belonging to the Dutch. A camp was immediately formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent; but their fleet, after setting fire to the small village of Teignmouth, and burning a few coasting vessels, returned to Brest.

The news of the victory obtained by the French fleet effaced all thoughts of submission on the part of the Irish, and an offer of indemnity from William, to those who would lay down their arms, produced little effect. This, however, only increased the misery of that unhappy country, which suffered from both parties; but, at length, the French forces embarked for their own country: and William, having constituted the lord Sydney and Thomas Coningsby lord-justices of Ireland, and left the command of the army with count de Solmes and baron de Ginkle, returned to England with prince George of Denmark.

Next year the Irish rebels were entirely reduced, and a capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in that kingdom which had not yet submitted. By it, the catholics were restored to the same rights and privileges as they had enjoyed under Charles II.; and ^{A. D.} twelve thousand of the determined adherents of ¹⁶⁹¹ James were allowed to transport themselves to France.

The conquest of Ireland being thus effected, the French king resolved to invade England during the absence of William, who had sailed for Holland, in order to promote the measures of the grand confederacy. Louis seemed warmly engaged in the interest of James; and the jacobites* in England were assured, that their lawful sovereign would revisit his British dominions at the head of thirty thousand men.

Accordingly, a considerable body of French forces, and

* A term given to the partisans of James, or the adherents of the ex-family.

many fugitive Irish and Scots, assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue, commanded by James in person; while a French fleet, of sixty-three ships of the line, under admiral Tourville, was appointed to convoy the troops. Admiral Russel, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, English and Dutch, besides frigates and fire-ships, set sail for the coast of France. On the 19th of May, 1692, the hostile fleets met off La Hogue; and after a bloody contest of nearly twelve hours, victory declared in favour of the English. The French lost fifteen ships of the line; and this defeat reduced James to the greatest despondence, and overwhelmed his friends in England with despair.

The war, however, was continued on the continent for some years, with various success; but at last it was terminated by the treaty of Rhyswick, with no advantage to England beyond honour and independence, and with the burden of a national debt which has since increased to an enormous amount.

A. D.
1697

The terrors of a standing army produced a general ferment in the nation; and the king was extremely mortified, when the commons voted, that the number of standing forces should be reduced to ten thousand. The earl of Sunderland, who had advised the unpopular measure of a standing army, dreading the vengeance of the commons, resigned his office.

William at this time revolved in his mind the settling of the succession of the throne of Spain, which would shortly be vacated by the death of Charles II.; and he, therefore, directed that sixteen thousand men should be retained in the service. When the new parliament met, the commons were so irritated at the king's presuming to maintain a greater number of troops than their predecessors had voted, that they passed a resolution that the army in England and Wales should be disbanded by a fixed day, with the exception of seven thousand men, who were judged sufficient for guards and garrisons.

William was highly indignant at the conduct of his ministers and the parliament; but when the bill was ready for the royal assent, he went to the house of peers, and having sent for the commons, he told them, that though he considered himself unkindly treated, in being deprived of his Dutch guards, yet as nothing could be more fatal to the

nation, than a distrust between him and the parliament, he had come to pass the bill, according to their desire.

The opening of a new parliament promised more cordiality, and the commons in an address desired his majesty to enter into such negotiations with the States-General and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the mutual safety of Great Britain and the United Provinces, as well as to the preservation of the peace of Europe. They also settled the succession, in case the princess Anne should die without issue, on Sophia of Hanover, and her heirs, being protestants.

A. D.
1701

The treaty of partition, however, into which William had entered with the court of France, for the division of the Spanish dominions on the death of the reigning sovereign, gave great offence. Among the competitors for that crown, the dauphin, who had married the king of Spain's daughter, was to be allowed to possess the greatest part of Italy; and other allotments were made, which tended to lessen the danger of one person succeeding to too extensive dominions. In order to frustrate the objects of the confederacy, the king of Spain by will nominated the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, heir to all his dominions; by which means he detached the French monarch from the union he had formed.

The parliament, in order to evince their resentment at the clandestine treaty of partition, ordered an impeachment of lord Somers, the earl of Orford, and the earl of Halifax, but the commons not appearing to prosecute, the three lords were acquitted; and William, encouraged by a petition from the county of Kent, and the general voice of the people, entered into a league with the emperor and the States-General, the principal objects of which were the recovery of the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier for Holland, and of Milan for the emperor.

King James expired at St. Germain's, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines, in Paris, without any funeral solemnity. Before his death he was visited by the French monarch, who declared that he would acknowledge his son as king of England. Accordingly, when James died, the pretended prince of Wales was proclaimed king of England, and treated as such at the court of Versailles.

In his speech to the parliament, William enlarged on

this indignity offered to the nation by the French king ; and explained the dangers to which England was exposed by that monarch placing his grandson on the throne of Spain. In an address to his majesty, the commons voted that no peace should be concluded with France, till reparation should be made to the king and nation, for owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They also voted a large supply ; and they agreed that the proportion of the land forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, should be forty thousand men, and that forty thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year.

The health of William had been declining for some time ; but he endeavoured to conceal the inroads which he felt were making in his constitution, in order that the allies might not be discouraged from engaging in a confederacy of which he was considered the chief. In riding to Hampton Court from Kensington, his collar-bone was broken by a fall from his horse ; and this hastened his dissolution. He expired on the eighth day of March, of a fever and asthma, in the thirteenth year of his reign. His amiable consort, Mary, had fallen a victim to the small-pox a few years before.

A. D.
1702

William III. was in his person small and slender. He had an aquiline nose, a large forehead, and a grave aspect. His genius was penetrating, and his judgment sound ; but in his manners he was distant, and better qualified to gain respect than love. He was religious, temperate, just, and sincere. England, in some respects, gained very much by the revolution, while in others, it was a severe sufferer. The system of borrowing money on remote funds, which began in this reign, has been attended with the most pernicious consequences ; and a standing army, which was first sanctioned by parliament in the time of William, now seems interwoven with the constitution ; but when we consider the noble stand which William made for the freedom of Europe, against the ambitious projects and dangerous influence of France, we must acknowledge, that he possessed qualities of the first order, which entitle him to the applause and respect of mankind.

In 1694, the bank of England, and the salt and stamp-offices, were established.

CHAP. XIX.

The reign of Queen Anne.

ANNE, princess of Denmark, the eldest surviving daughter of James the Second, ascended the throne on the death of William, with the general satisfaction of all parties. She was now in the thirty-eighth year ^{A. D.} 1702 of her age, and by her husband, George, prince of Denmark, had a numerous offspring, all of which died in infancy, except the duke of Gloucester, who, after giving promises of future worth, was seized with a malignant fever, which put an end to his existence in the eleventh year of his age.

Anne had received great mortifications in the late reign; but she conducted herself with so much discretion, that little or no pretence for censure or resentment could be alleged. The facility of her disposition, however, rendered her the dupe of interested and artful dependents; and it was owing to this that a serious misunderstanding had taken place between her and the late king and queen, which continued till the death of the latter. Anne had been taught to consider the tories as friends of the monarchy, and the true sons of the church; and they had always professed an inviolable attachment to her person and interest.

The death of William excited the greatest consternation throughout Holland; but the anxiety of the States-General was relieved, by the arrival of the earl of Marlborough, who assured them that her majesty would adhere to all the stipulations which had been entered into by the late king.

In her first speech to parliament, Anne made the most conciliatory declaration of her views and principles; and in return, they settled on her, during life, the same revenue as had been enjoyed by the late king. When the bill received the royal assent, the queen assured them, that one hundred thousand pounds of this revenue should be applied to the public service of the year.

When the subject of the intended war was debated in the queen's privy-council, the earl of Rochester, maternal uncle to the queen, proposed that the English should act only as auxiliaries, and that the chief burden of the war

should be borne by the continental allies, who had most to fear from the power of France; but the earl of Marlborough observed, that France could never be reduced within due limits, unless the English entered as principals in the quarrel. The opinion of Marlborough prevailed; and he was also appointed captain-general of all her majesty's forces, to be employed in conjunction with the troops of the allies.

The Dutch too, to whom the earl had been sent ambassador-extraordinary, gave him the same appointment over their forces; and the allies having promised to furnish their quotas of troops, every thing was concerted for commencing the war, the avowed object of which, as far as concerned England, was to put the house of Austria in possession of the throne of Spain, and to procure a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands.

Marlborough, at the head of sixty thousand men, took the field in the month of July, and obliged the duke of Burgundy, who commanded the French army, to retire before the allied troops, and to leave Spanish A. D. 1702 Guelderland exposed. The town and castle of Werk surrendered; Venlo capitulated; and Ruremonde was reduced after an obstinate defence. Boufflers, whom Burgundy had left in the command, confounded at the rapidity of Marlborough's success, retired towards Liege; but, at the approach of the confederates, he directed his march towards Brabant; and Marlborough took that city by assault, in which the allies found considerable public booty.

Meanwhile, the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of sir George Rooke, after an unsuccessful attack on Cadiz, captured the Spanish galleons at Vigo, with riches to the amount of seven million pieces of eight.

Marlborough, who arrived in England about the latter end of November, received the thanks of the house of commons for his great and signal services, which were so acceptable to the queen, that she created him a duke, and complimented him with a grant of five thousand pounds per annum out of the post-office. About the same time, the parliament settled the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds on George, prince of Denmark, the queen's consort, in case he should survive her.

In the next campaign, the duke of Marlborough, being unable to provoke marshal Villeroy to hazard a battle, was obliged to content himself with the capture of Bonne, Huy, Limburgh, and Gueldres. The duke ^{A. D.} 1703 was restricted in his enterprises by the deputies of the States-General, who began to be influenced by the intrigues of the Louvestein faction.

In the beginning of next year, the duke of Marlborough assembled his army at Maestricht; and having concerted the plan of operations with the States, he crossed the Rhine at Coblentz. After effecting a junction ^{A. D.} 1704 with prince Eugene and the imperialists, the allied army, on the second day of July, attacked the Bavarians in their intrenchments at Donavert; and, after an obstinate resistance, succeeded in defeating the enemy, who left six thousand men dead on the field of battle.

The elector of Bavaria, being joined by marshal Tallard, crossed the Danube. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene found the enemy advantageously posted upon a hill near Hochstadt, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, their left by the village of Lutzingem, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the generals resolved to attack the French and Bavarians, whose army amounted to sixty thousand men. Marshal Tallard commanded on the right, and threw twenty-seven battalions, with twelve squadrons, into the village of Blenheim, where he supposed the allies would make their chief effort; their left was conducted by the elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marsin, a French general of experience.

The duke of Marlborough, taking advantage of the injudicious arrangement of his opponent, ordered the villages to be attacked by his infantry, and with his horse in person fell on the French cavalry, commanded by marshal Tallard. After several charges, the French horse were totally subdued, and driven into the Danube, where most of them perished; and ten battalions of foot were at the same time charged on all sides, and cut to pieces. The elector of Bavaria made a resolute defence against prince Eugene, but, at length, was obliged to give way. The confederates being now masters of the field, surrounded the village of Blenheim; and the twenty-seven battalions

and twelve squadrons, despairing of forcing their way through the allies, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

Never was a victory more complete. Ten thousand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field of battle; the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse perished in the Danube; and thirteen thousand were made prisoners; and the enemy lost their camp equipage, baggage, and artillery. Marshal Tallard was taken prisoner. The allies concluded the campaign, with the capture of Landau and Trierbach.

Sir George Rooke, who had been sent with a squadron to Barcelona, made a sudden and successful attack on Gibraltar, and took possession of that important fortress, which has ever since belonged to England.

In the campaign of 1705, the object of the duke of Marlborough was to penetrate to France by the Moselle; but his operations were ill-seconded by prince Louis of Baden, who was suspected of treachery, or who was actuated by envy of the duke's military reputation. In the mean time, the French invested and took Huy, and besieged Liege; but Marlborough, returning into the Netherlands, retook Huy, and obliged the French to abandon their enterprise against Liege. The English general, inflamed with a desire of achieving some action of importance, attacked the enemy in their lines, defeated the Bavarian cavalry with great slaughter, and obliged the infantry also to give way.

Meanwhile, an English fleet, with five thousand troops under the command of the earl of Peterborough and sir Cloudesly Shovel, being joined by a Dutch squadron at Lisbon, and re-enforced by a body of horse from the earl of Galway's army in Portugal, having taken the archduke Charles on board, directed its course to Catalonia. The troops were disembarked at Barcelona, and Charles landed amidst the acclamations of a countless multitude, who threw themselves at his feet, exclaiming, "Long live the king!" Barcelona was compelled to capitulate; and the whole province of Catalonia declared for Charles, who now assumed the title of king of Spain, and took up his winter quarters in the heart of that country.

Villeroy having received orders to act on the offensive, passed the Doyle, advanced to Tirlemont, and from thence

to Ramilies, where he met the united army of the allies. Both sides prepared for battle. The duke ^{A. D.} 1706 of Marlborough ordered lieutenant-general Schultz, with twelve battalions, and twenty pieces of cannon, to attack the village of Ramilies, which was strongly fortified with artillery.

The main body of the enemy were speedily driven from the field; and the confederates obtained a complete victory. About eight thousand French and Bavarians were killed or wounded; and the allies captured the enemy's baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours or standards, six hundred officers, and six thousand private soldiers.

The entire conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders, was the immediate result of the battle of Ramilies. Louvaine, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, submitted without resistance; Ostend was obliged to capitulate; and the captures of Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth, speedily followed.

In Spain, the French were also unsuccessful: and king Philip was obliged to raise the siege of Barcelona. The earl of Galway advanced into Estremadura, took Alcantara, and marched to Madrid, which the English and Portuguese entered without resistance.

In Italy, the French were defeated by prince Eugene at Turin, and the duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph. The duke of Orleans retreated into Dauphine; while the French garrisons were expelled from every place they occupied in Piedmont and Italy, with the exception of Cremona, Valenza, and the castle of Milan, which were blockaded by the confederates.

In return for the great services which he had rendered his country, the commons, in an address, besought her majesty to consider the means by which the memory of the duke of Marlborough's noble actions might be perpetuated. The queen informed them by a message, that she intended to grant to the duke and his heirs, the interest of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodstock and the hundred of Wooten; and she desired the assistance of the house, in clearing from incumbrance the lieutenancy and ranger-ship of the park, with the rents and profits of the manor and hundred, which had already been alienated for two lives. Accordingly, a bill was brought in and passed, en-

abling the queen to bestow the aforesaid honour and manor on the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and her majesty was desired to advance the money for clearing the incumbrances. The queen not only complied with this address, but likewise ordered the comptroller of her works to build on Woodstock-park, the magnificent palace or castle of Blenheim, as a monument of the signal victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough near the village of that name.

Previously to this, the queen, with the concurrence of parliament, had alienated that branch of the revenue which arose from the first-fruits and tenths paid by the clergy, and vested it in trustees for the augmentation of small livings. At the same time, the statute of mortmain was repealed, so far as to allow all persons to bestow by will, or grant by deed, what they should think fit for the increase of benefices.

The union between England and Scotland, which was effected about this time, was an event more glorious and beneficial than the most splendid success of the British arms. This measure, however, imperiously urged by wisdom, was violently opposed by popular prejudice in Scotland; but, at length, the two kingdoms were united under one legislature, and one government; and the
 A. D. 1707 union, though unpromising in its origin, has been productive of happiness and prosperity to both kingdoms.

In the meantime, Louis, whose pride had been greatly humbled by the victories of the duke of Marlborough, and the exertions of the English, offered peace on the following terms: That Milan, Naples, and Sicily, should be given to the archduke; that a barrier in the Netherlands should be allowed to the Dutch; and that the duke of Savoy should be indemnified for the ravages committed in his dominions. In return for these concessions, he demanded the quiet possession of the throne of Spain and the Indies to his grandson, Philip V., and the restitution of Bavaria to its native prince.

These offers, however, were rejected; and the character of the duke of Marlborough was at this time so high in the nation, that both houses of parliament renewed their thanks to him, passed a bill to perpetuate his titles in the

female as well as the male line, and readily voted supplies for prosecuting the war.

But, notwithstanding all his grace's abilities and influence, he could not escape the envy which too frequently attends on transcendant talents and uninterrupted success. Mrs. Masham, a distant relation of the duchess of Marlborough, who had, from this connexion, obtained the office of woman of the bed chamber, succeeded to that ascendancy over the mind of her sovereign, which the duchess had long maintained. This favourite was more obliging than her benefactress, who had frequently opposed the wishes of the queen; and in political intrigues, she acted as auxiliary to Mr. Robert Harley, who had been appointed secretary of state, and who determined to destroy the credit of the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin. His intention was to unite the tories under his own auspices, and expel the whigs from the administration; and, in this scheme, he was assisted by Henry St. John, afterwards lord Bolingbroke, a man of elegant taste and an aspiring mind, whose talents, however, were rather specious than profound, and whose principles were loose and unsettled.

The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin, apprized of the secret intrigues which Mr. Harley carried on with Mrs. Masham, informed the queen that they could serve her no longer, if that minister were continued in his office of secretary. The queen endeavoured to appease their resentment, but in vain; and she was obliged to remove Mr. Harley from his office; but her majesty was indignant at the conduct of the duke and the earl of Godolphin, from whom she withdrew her confidence.

At this period, the nation was alarmed with a threatened invasion from France, in favour of the pretender, or the chevalier St. George, as he was called. The queen communicated to the commons the advice which she had received of the destination of the French armament; and both houses immediately joined in a loyal and affectionate address on this occasion; the habeas corpus act was suspended; the pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels; and a bill was passed, discharging the clans of Scotland, where it was expected the chevalier would land, from all vassalage to those chiefs who should arm against her majesty.

Preparations for this expedition were made at Dunkirk, where a fleet was assembled under count Fourbin, and a body of land forces embarked; and this armament, after leaving Dunkirk, directed its course for Scotland. Sir George Byng, who had received advice of its departure from the coast of France, pursued the enemy with an English squadron so closely, that both fleets arrived in the Frith of Forth almost at the same time; when the French commander, despairing of success, and unwilling to try the issue of a battle, took advantage of a land-breeze, and sailed away. The pretender desired to be set on shore at Inverness; but this being found impracticable, the chevalier and his general returned to Dunkirk.

The duke of Marlborough, with his usual success, defeated the French near Oudenarde. In this battle,
A. D. 1708 the French had about three thousand men killed in the field, and seven thousand taken prisoners. After obtaining this victory, the allies invested Lisle, the strongest place in Flanders, and the bulwark of the French barrier. Prince Eugene commanded, and the duke of Marlborough covered and sustained the siege. The garrison was numerous, and was commanded by a marshal of France; but nothing could resist bravery and skill united. The enemy assembled all their forces, and marched to the relief of the place, but were only spectators to its fall. The duke obliged the elector of Bavaria to raise the siege of Brussels; and re-took Ghent and Bruges, which had been lost by treachery.

On the twenty-eighth of October of this year, died George, prince of Denmark, a personage who possessed all the amiable qualities of his consort, but who was devoid of great talents and ambition. At his death, the earl of Pembroke was created lord high-admiral, the earl of Wharton was promoted to the government of Ireland, and lord Somers appointed president of the council. Notwithstanding the advancement of these whig noblemen, the duke of Marlborough continued to decline in his credit with the queen, who privately consulted, and placed her chief confidence in Mr. Harley, though the latter held no ostensible situation in the administration.

Meanwhile, the duke of Savoy, by making himself master of the important fortresses of Exilles, La Perouse, the valley of St. Martin, and Fenestrells, had not only secured

a barrier to his own frontiers, but opened a way into the French provinces on the side of Dauphine; while the possession of Lisle exposed that monarchy on the side of the Netherlands.

During this campaign, major-general Stanhope, with three thousand men, having landed on the island of Minorca, took fort St. Philip in three days; and the garrison of fort Fornelles having surrendered themselves prisoners to admiral sir John Leake, the whole island submitted to the English government.

By this time the pride of Louis was humbled, and he once more made proposals of peace to the Dutch; but the States immediately communicated his proposals to the courts of Vienna and London; and the emperor appointed prince Eugene of Savoy, and Great Britain the duke of Marlborough, as their respective plenipotentiaries. The allies, however, rendered insolent by conquest, made demands which were considered extravagant by the French monarch, who, gathering resolution from despair, published them and his own concessions; and the people, animated with the desire of defending their king and country, displayed extraordinary efforts in preparing to resist the tremendous power of the enemy.

The allies, on their side, were equally active. Marlborough and prince Eugene proceeded to Flanders; and the allied army assembled on the plain of Lisle, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand men. Tournay soon fell, and the siege of Mous was formed. The French army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, were posted in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. In the night of the tenth of September, the two armies arrayed themselves in order of battle; and, about eight o'clock the next morning, one of the most furious contests that had taken place in this war commenced. The battle was maintained with the most determined courage on both sides. The French fought with an obstinacy bordering on despair, till seeing their lines forced, and their general dangerously wounded, they retreated in good order, and took post between Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The field of battle was abandoned to the confederates, with about forty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of artillery, and a number of prisoners; but it was the dearest victory the allies had ever purchased. About twenty thou-

A. D.
1709

and of their best troops were killed in the engagement, while the enemy did not lose half that number. The battle of Malplaquet, however, was followed by the surrender of Mons; and this achievement terminated the campaign. Some attempts at negotiation were again made by Louis; but in proportion to his concessions, the allies rose in their demands.

During this campaign, the military operations in Spain and Portugal were unfavourable to the allies. The castle of Alicant, garrisoned by two English regiments, had been besieged during a whole winter. At length, the commander of the besieging forces ordered the rock on which the castle was situated to be undermined; and colonel Syburgh, the governor, was informed, that it was intended to spring the mine, if he did not surrender in twenty-four hours. Syburgh, however, refused to comply; and the rock being split by the explosion, the colonel and several officers were swallowed up in the opening, which immediately closed upon them; but notwithstanding this terrible accident, the garrison persisted in its defence, till the arrival of general Stanhope, who procured an honourable capitulation.

Henry Sacheverell, a man of very moderate talents, but of a busy and meddling disposition, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's, on the fifth day of November, took occasion to inveigh with bitterness against the ministry, the dissenters, and the low church; he defended the doctrine of non-resistance, and declaring religion to be in danger, exhorted the people to stand up in defence of the church. This sermon being printed, was speedily dispersed over the kingdom; and Mr. Dolben, son of the late archbishop of York, complained of it to the house of commons, in consequence of which Sacheverell was taken into custody and impeached.

The attention of the whole kingdom was fixed on this extraordinary trial, though neither the man nor his publication deserved any other than silent contempt. The trial continued for three weeks; and a vast multitude attended Sacheverell every day to and from Westminster-hall, praying for his deliverance as if he had been a martyr. The queen's sedan was surrounded by the populace, who exclaimed, "God bless your majesty and the church; we hope your majesty is for Sacheverell." They abused and insulted all who would not join in the cry of "the church

and Sacheverell;" destroyed several meeting-houses, and plundered the dwellings of eminent dissenters.

Sacheverell was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; he was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years; and his sermon was ordered to be burnt in the presence of the lord-mayor and the sheriffs of London, before whom it had been delivered. The lenity of the sentence, which was in a great measure owing to a dread of the popular fury, was celebrated as a triumph over the whigs.

The French king, sensible that the misery of his people daily increased by the continuance of the war, again made overtures for peace; but finding that the allies would not listen to reasonable or honourable terms, and hoping that the approaching change in the English ministry might be productive of advantage to him, he resolved to await the events of another campaign. The duke of Marlborough, however, still continued his successes. He took Douay, Bethune, Venant, and Aire, which opened a free passage into the heart of France. On the Rhine, the campaign produced no military event; and in Spain, both parties were by turns conquerors and conquered.

In England, the effects of those intrigues which had been formed against the whig ministers, began to appear. The trial of Sacheverell had excited a popular spirit of aversion to those who favoured the dissenters; and the queen expressed her attachment to the tories, by mortifying the duke of Marlborough, whose interest was not sufficient to prevent the dismissal of his own son-in-law, the earl of Sunderland, from the office of secretary of state. Harley became sole minister, and was created earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

The new ministry, however, had not yet determined to supersede Marlborough in the command of the army. In the next campaign, prince Eugene acted in Germany, and the duke of Marlborough was again opposed by marshal Villars, who had assembled a numerous army, and which he encamped in a strong position behind the river Sanset. Villars boasted that the French lines were impregnable; but the duke of Marlborough entered these lines without the loss of a single soldier; and he afterwards reduced the strong town of Bouchain in the very sight of the French army, which was superior to his

own, and made the garrison, consisting of six thousand men, prisoners of war.

This was the last memorable military service performed by the duke of Marlborough. The ministers took every method which envy and malice could suggest, to exasperate the nation against the duke, who had supported so nobly the glory of England, humbled the pride and checked the ambition of France, secured the liberty of Europe, and, as it were, chained victory to his chariot wheels. Of Marlborough it has been justly observed, that he never laid siege to a town which he did not take, or fought a battle which he did not win. His understanding was as injurious to France as his military abilities; and he was equally famous in the cabinet as in the field.

Such, however, is the violent conduct of faction, that this consummate general and statesman was ridiculed in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. He was represented as guilty of fraud, avarice, and extortion, and traduced as the meanest of mankind. Even his courage was called in question; and he was accused of insolence, ambition, and misconduct. When his enemies had become ministers, the same parliament, which had so often before voted him thanks for the great and important services he had performed, now determined, by a large majority, that some of his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal; and on the strength of these resolutions, originating solely from party motives, the queen dismissed him from all his employments, and the command was given to the duke of Ormond.

By the death of Joseph, emperor of Germany, his brother, the archduke Charles, became possessed of all the hereditary states of the empire; and soon after being elected emperor, the object of the war was certainly changed; for his accession to the thrones of both Germany and Spain would have effectually destroyed that balance of power, for the maintenance of which so much blood had been spilt.

A congress was therefore appointed at Utrecht; and, after negotiations had been long carried on at that place, peace was signed, March 31, 1713, by all the belligerent powers, except the emperor. By the treaty of Utrecht, Spain and the Indies were confirmed to Philip; but the Netherlands and the Spanish dominions in Italy were se-

parated from that monarchy. Naples, Sardinia, and Milan, were bestowed on the emperor ; and Sicily, with the title of king, was given to the duke of Savoy. The Dutch had a barrier assigned them against France in the Netherlands ; while all that Great Britain gained, after so glorious a war, and so many splendid victories, was the demolition of Dunkirk, and the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca.

The ambition of St. John, lord viscount Bolingbroke, would not allow him to act a subordinate part under Harley, earl of Oxford ; and the former had insinuated himself into the confidence of Mrs. Masham, whom the latter had displeased. By means of that lady, Bolingbroke was confirmed in the good opinion of the queen, while Oxford in proportion lost the favour of his sovereign. The queen, harassed by discordant counsels, and perceiving her constitution giving way, was supposed by some to form real designs of securing the succession to her brother ; and it was strongly suspected, that Bolingbroke was attached to the same interest, and encouraged her majesty with the most flattering hopes of success.

After the peace had received the sanction of parliament, the two rivals, unrestrained by the tie of common danger, gave a loose to their mutual animosity ; and a very acrimonious dialogue passed, on the 27th of July, between Mrs. Masham, Oxford, and Bolingbroke, in the presence of the queen. Soon after, Oxford was deprived of his badge of office ; but as no provision had been made for supplying his place, confusion and disorder ensued at court.

The fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council held on this occasion, and the altercation which passed between the ministers at the board, so agitated and affected the queen's spirits, that she was immediately seized with an apoplectic disorder, which baffled all the power of medicine. Her majesty continued in a lethargic insensibility, with short intervals, till her death, which

A. D.
1714 took place on the first day of August, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Anne was of the middle size, and well proportioned ; her countenance was round, her features regular, her complexion ruddy, and her hair a dark brown. In domestic life, she was a pattern of conjugal affection, and a tender mother. She wanted, however, the vigour of mind re-

quite to preserve her independence, and to free her from the snares of favourites; but the virtues of her heart were never doubted; and, notwithstanding the party feuds which embittered her repose, and disturbed her reign, she was personally beloved by her people. In a word, though her abilities were unequal to the high station which she filled, and her attachment to favourites was injurious to her government and the nation, she was a humane and munificent sovereign, and well deserved the title, which her subjects gave her, of "the good queen Anne."

CHAP. XX.

The reign of George I.

If providence had granted a longer life to Anne, and the daring and ambitious St. John had continued to influence her councils, there seems reason to suppose that attempts would have been made to restore the hereditary line. Certain it is, that the friends of the pretender derived great hopes from the ministry of Bolingbroke; but the sudden death of the queen, by destroying the expectations of the jacobites, put an end to their present machinations, and thus removed the fears and apprehensions of the whigs.

Agreeably to the act of settlement passed in the reign of William, George I. elector of Hanover, descended by his mother from Elizabeth, daughter of A. D. James I., was proclaimed king in due form, the 1714 very day of the queen's death, and the submission of the three kingdoms was as universal, as if no pretended claim existed.

At the time of his ascending the throne of Great Britain, George was in the fifty-fifth year of his age. In about six weeks, he landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the lords of the regency; and on the twentieth day of October following, he was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity.

The hopes and fears of both the whigs and tories were great at this time; but the new sovereign had been prepossessed against the latter; and his majesty effected an instantaneous and total change in all important offices under government. The duke of Ormond was dismissed from his command, which the king restored to the duke of

Marlborough, with several new appointments; the earl of Nottingham was declared president of the council; the great seal was given to lord Cowper; the privy-seal to the earl of Wharton; and the vice-royalty of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. Lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state; Mr. Pulteney secretary of war; and Mr. Walpole, who had undertaken to manage the house of commons, was made paymaster to the army. The post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed on the duke of Montrose; and the duke of Argyle was appointed commander in chief of the forces in that country. Thus the whigs obtained an ascendancy both in and out of parliament.

Meanwhile, the malcontents in England were considerably increased by the king's attachment to the whigs; and dangerous tumults were raised in different parts of the kingdom. The pretender took this opportunity to transmit copies of a printed manifesto to various noblemen of the first distinction. In this declaration, he mentioned the good intentions of his sister towards him, which had been prevented by her death; and observed, that his people had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the laws of hereditary right, which no act could abrogate.

When the parliament met, the earl of Oxford, the duke of Ormond, the earl of Strafford, and lord Bolingbroke, were impeached, on account of the parts which they had acted in regard to the peace of Utrecht. Bolingbroke fled to the continent, and was followed by Ormond; but though Oxford, Prior, and some others, were taken into custody, they all escaped punishment. Ormond and Bolingbroke, not surrendering themselves within the time appointed, the house of lords ordered their names to be erased from the list of peers; and inventories were taken of their personal estates. It is impossible to reflect on the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave and humane nobleman, whose only crime was obedience to the commands of his sovereign, without feeling the greatest indignation against those who were the promoters of such iniquitous proceedings.

The spirit of discontent daily increased in England; and notwithstanding the proclamations against riots, several tumults were raised in the cities of London and Westminster. A trifling incident served to augment the

public ferment. The shirts allowed to the first regiment of guards, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, were so coarse, that the soldiers could scarcely be persuaded to wear them. Some of the shirts were thrown into the garden of the king's palace, and into that which belonged to the duke of Marlborough; and a detachment, in marching through the city, produced them to the people, exclaiming, "These are the Hanover shirts."

Tumults were raised in Staffordshire, and other parts of the kingdom; and the house of commons presented an address to the king, desiring that the laws might be executed with vigour against rioters. They also passed a new act, by which it was decreed, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, and had heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

The king having informed both houses that a rebellion had actually commenced, and that the nation was threatened with a foreign invasion, the parliament immediately passed a law, empowering his majesty to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the habeas corpus act. About this period, the royal assent was given to an act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. By this law, the tenant who continued peaceable, while his lord took up arms in favour of the pretender, was invested with the propriety of the lands he rented; on the other hand, it decreed that the lands possessed by any person guilty of high-treason should revert to the superior of whom they were held; and a clause was added for summoning all suspected persons to find bail for their good behaviour. By virtue of this clause, all the heads of the jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, were summoned to Edinburgh, and those who neglected to appear were declared rebels.

The disaffected, both in England and Scotland, held private consultations with the jacobites; and the chevalier St. George was assured, that the whole nation was dissatisfied with the new government. Resolving to take advantage of this favourable disposition, the chevalier applied to the French king, who supplied him with the means of fitting out a small armament in the port of Havre; but the death of Louis, which happened at this time, was

highly detrimental to his interests; and the duke of Orleans, on whom the regency of the kingdom devolved, adopted a new system of politics, and entered into the strictest alliance with the king of Great Britain.

The partisans of the pretender, however, had gone too far to recede. The earl of Mar, assembling three hundred of his vassals, proclaimed the chevalier at Castletown, and on the sixth of September, set up ^{A. D.} ¹⁷¹⁵ his standard at Bræ-Mar. Then assuming the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, he published a declaration, exhorting the people to arm for their lawful sovereign; and this was followed by a manifesto, in which the national grievances were enumerated and aggravated, and the people promised redress.

Meanwhile, the duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander-in-chief of the forces in North Britain; and the earl of Sutherland set sail for that country, to raise his vassals in defence of his liege sovereign. Other heads of clans did the same; and it was soon evident, that the voice of Scotland was far from being general in favour of the pretender.

In the north of England, however, the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders, proclaimed the chevalier in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. After an ineffectual attempt on Newcastle, they retired northwards, and being reinforced by a body of troops under lords Kenmuir, Carnwath, and Wintown, the insurgents advanced to Kelso, where they were joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of highlanders.

A council of war being called, the rebels determined to re-enter England by the western border. At Brampton, Foster opened his commission of general, and proclaimed the pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, assisted by lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the posse comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who fled at the approach of this small army. From Penrith, the insurgents proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, of which they took possession without opposition.

General Willis marched against the rebels, with six regiments of horse and one battalion of foot, and had ad-

vanced to the bridge of Ribble, before Foster received intelligence of their approach. At first, the king's troops met with a warm reception, but being reinforced next day with three regiments of dragoons, under general Carpenter, the town was invested on all sides. The rebels now proposed to capitulate, but the general refusing to treat, they surrendered at discretion. The noblemen and leaders were secured, and sent prisoners to London. Some of them were tried by the martial-law and executed; and the common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool, till the pleasure of government respecting them should be known.

The very day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston, was fought the battle of Dumblane, between the duke of Argyle and the earl of Mar. The duke's army was far inferior in point of numbers; but he obtained the advantage, though both sides claimed the victory.

In this desperate situation of his affairs, the chevalier, embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, landed at Perhead on the twenty-second of December, and proceeded to Fetterosse, where, being joined by the earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen, and gentlemen of the first quality, he was proclaimed king. His declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the adjacent counties; and he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion, in Aberdeenshire. On the fifth of January, he made his public entry into Dundee; and, on the seventh, he arrived at Scone, where he assumed all the functions of royalty, and fixed his coronation for the twenty-third of the same month.

A. D.
1716

This dream of royalty, however, was of short duration. In a council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted, it was determined to abandon the enterprise, as they were destitute of money, arms and ammunition, and as they were beginning to be hemmed in by the king's army. The chevalier, being hotly pursued by the duke of Argyle, was glad to embark on board a French vessel which lay in the harbour of Montrose, from whence he sailed to France, accompanied by Mar, Melfort, Drummond, Bulkley, and other persons of distinction.

The rebellion being thus suppressed, the commons impeached the nobility who had been engaged in this affair;

but of them the earl of Derwentwater and lord Kenmuir alone suffered death ; and few of the lower ranks were executed in comparison with the number found guilty. About one thousand, who submitted to the king's mercy, petitioned for transportation, and were sent to America.

The ministry, sensible of the unpopularity of their measures, and fearing the effects of a new parliament, determined to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of parliaments to seven years. A. D. 1716
Accordingly, on the tenth of April, the duke of Devonshire brought a bill into the house of lords for enlarging the continuance of parliaments, which was supported by all the whig party ; and though it was strenuously opposed by the earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Paulet, it passed by a great majority ; and, in the lower house, it met with the same success.

The Spanish king having taken Sardinia, and invaded Sicily, Great Britain, France, Holland and the emperor, formed a quadruple alliance against his catholic majesty. Bremen, and Verdun, which had been purchased with the money of England, were secured to Hanover, contrary to the act of settlement in the reign of king William. Admiral sir George Byng sailed with twenty ships of the line, for the Mediterranean ; and, on the eleventh of August, he met, off cape Passaro, on the south-east point of Sicily, with the Spanish fleet consisting of twenty-seven sail. A. D. 1718
An engagement ensued, in which sir George took or destroyed the greatest part of the hostile armament.

The Spaniards now formed a scheme in favour of the pretender, and sent a squadron, with six thousand regular troops and twelve thousand stand of arms, under the duke of Ormond, to invade Great Britain. The Spanish fleet, however, was dispersed by a violent storm, which defeated the intended expedition ; but two frigates arrived in Scotland, with the earls Marischal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, and three hundred Spaniards. • These being attacked by General Wightman, were entirely defeated. Soon after, lord Cobham made a descent on Spain, and took Vigo ; and his catholic majesty acceded to the quadruple alliance, which, indeed, was chiefly in favour of the emperor, who was desirous of adding Sicily to his other Italian dominions.

On the royal recommendation to the commons to take the national debt into consideration, a scheme was
A. D.
1719 formed, called the South-Sea act, which was productive of the greatest mischief and infatuation. The scheme was projected by sir John Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, and who proposed to discharge the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one. The bank and South-Sea company bade against each other; and the terms of the latter were so advantageous, that government closed with them.

While the matter was in agitation, the stock of the company rose from one hundred and thirty to nearly four hundred; and though the Mississippi scheme of Law had ruined many thousand families in France, in the pre-
A. D.
1720 ceding year, the people of England were so infatuated, that the example did not operate as a warning. Blount imposed on the whole nation, which was seized with a kind of delirium. The projector and his associates pretended, that Gibraltar and Port Mahon would be exchanged for some places in Peru, by which means the English trade to the South-Sea would be protected and enlarged; the directors opened their books for a subscription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for one hundred, capital stock; and such was the eagerness of the multitude to subscribe, that in five days two millions were entered in the books, and stocks advanced to double the price of the first payment.

By a promise of high dividends and other artifices, the South-Sea stock was raised to one thousand. Exchange-alley was daily filled with an infatuated crowd of all ranks; but in the course of a few weeks the stock fell to one hundred and fifty; and the ebb of this tide of hope was so violent, as to overwhelm in ruin an infinite number of families. Public credit sustained a terrible shock. The principal actors in this nefarious undertaking were punished by parliament, and measures were adopted for giving some redress to the injured parties.

In the beginning of May, it was reported, that the king had received from the duke of Orleans information of a conspiracy against his person and government. In
A. D.
1722 consequence, a camp was immediately formed in Hyde park; all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective posts; troops were sent from

Ireland; the states of Holland were desired to have their auxiliary forces ready to be embarked; and some suspected persons were apprehended in Scotland.

Among the individuals supposed to be implicated in this treasonable conspiracy, were Atterbury, bishop of Rochester; the earl of Orrery; the lords North and Grey; Cochrane and Smith, from Scotland; Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple; George Kelley, an Irish clergyman; Cotton, Bingley, and Fleetwood, Englishmen; and one Naynoe, an Irish priest. All these were taken into custody, and committed to different prisons.

On the meeting of the new parliament, his majesty informed them of the nature and extent of the plot, which, he said, if it had not been timely discovered, would have involved the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, in blood and confusion. The parliament suspended the *habeas corpus* act for a year; but the opposition in the house of commons was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole, the prime minister, endeavoured to rouse their apprehensions by informing them of a design to seize the bank and exchequer, and to proclaim the pretender on the Royal Exchange. To corroborate the whole, an original and printed copy of a declaration, signed by the pretender at Lucca, was laid before the house. In this curious paper, the chevalier expatiated on the grievances of England, and very gravely proposed, that if king George would relinquish the throne of Great Britain, he would, in return, bestow on him the title of king in his native dominions, and secure to him the succession to the British sceptre, whenever, in due course, his natural right should take place.

The commons prepared a bill for raising one hundred thousand pounds on the real and personal estates of papists, towards defraying the expenses incurred by the late rebellion and disorders; and all persons of that faith in Scotland were called upon to register their names and real estates.

These acts were followed by the trial, conviction, and execution of Layer. Against the lords who had been arrested, no evidence appeared, or at least was produced; but Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, had rendered himself too conspicuous to escape punishment. On mere conjecture and hearsay evidence, a bill of pains and penalties

passed the lower house against him, and was sent up to the lords, when the trial commenced. Nothing could be proved against him, except the uncertain evidence of the clerks of the post-office; yet the bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future; he was also banished the realm, and subjected to the penalty of death in case he should return; and all persons who should correspond with him in his exile, were declared guilty of a capital offence.

The remainder of the reign of George the First presents little to excite attention. Intricate and contradictory treaties, most of which were inimical to the interests of this country, form the principal subjects of this portion of English history.

The king was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder, on the road from Holland to Hanover, and was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnaburgh, where he
 A. D. 1727 expired on Sunday, the 11th day of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

George I. was plain in his person, and simple in his address. His deportment was grave and composed, though he could be easy and familiar in the hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne of Great Britain, he was considered an able and experienced general, a just and merciful prince, and a consummate politician. With these qualities, his disposition to govern England, according to the regulations of the British constitution, cannot be disputed; and if ever he appeared to deviate from these principles, we readily allow, that the blame does not attach to him, but to his ministers, by whose venal suggestions he was misled.

George I. married the princess Sophia Dorothy, daughter of the duke of Zell, from whom he separated before he came to England.

CHAP. XXI.

The reign of George II.

On the 11th day of June, an account was received of the late king's death, when the prince of Wales repaired

from Richmond to Leicester-house, where a privy-council was held, and next day, George II. was proclaimed king with the usual solemnities. His majesty declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in church and state, and to adhere to those alliances into which his father had entered. At the same time, he took and subscribed the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of union; and he continued all the great officers of state in their places.

In his speech to both houses, on the opening of the parliament, the king professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights, and by studying to lessen the expenses of government on every occasion.

Sir Robert Walpole followed these gracious assurances, by moving that the entire revenue of the civil-list, which produced about eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, should be settled on the king during life; and though Mr. Shippen and other patriots opposed any increase of the royal revenue, as inconsistent with the trust reposed in them, the motion was carried by a great majority; and a liberal provision was made for the queen, in case she should survive his majesty. In short, the two houses of parliament seemed to vie with each other in expressing their attachment to the new king: and, for a time, all parties appeared to be united in affection to his person, and in submission to the proposals of his ministers.

Sir Robert Walpole, though he disclaimed any intention of promoting a general excise, expatiated on the benefits which would accrue to the nation by a partial measure of that nature, and prevent numberless frauds on the public and the fair trader. The speech of the minister was followed by a motion that a partial excise on tobacco should be levied. This measure met with a violent opposition, as well from the consideration of the train of dependants it would produce, as from the dread of its extension to other articles; and the ferment became so great throughout the nation, that though the minister had a triumphant majority of sixty-one in the house of commons, he was obliged to waive the advantage, and abandon the scheme.

Ever since the treaty of Seville, in 1720, the Spaniards

in America had almost incessantly insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain. They disputed the right of the English to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and gather salt on the island of Tortugas, though that right was acknowledged in all the treaties concluded between the two nations. The captains of their armed vessels, called *guarda-costas*, made a practice of boarding and plundering English ships, on the pretence of searching for contraband goods; and various other acts of cruelty and injustice were committed. In particular, one Captain Jenkins, master of a Scottish merchant ship, was boarded by the commander of a Spanish *guarda-costa*, who insulted Jenkins with the most opprobrious invectives, and tore off one of his ears, which he bade him carry to the king, and tell him that the Spaniards would serve him in the same manner, if an opportunity should present itself.

These outrages were loudly and justly complained of. Petitions from different parts of the kingdom were presented to the lower house; and the relief of parliament was earnestly implored against these acts of violence. Sir John Barnard moved, that all the memorials and papers relative to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the commons; and though sir Robert Walpole proposed some alteration, he was obliged to comply.

The minister, however, was either fond of peace, or afraid that war would injure his administration. Every endeavour, therefore, to prevent a rupture with Spain was industriously employed; and, at last, a convention was

concluded and ratified, by which the king of Spain
 A. D. 1738 bound himself to pay, within a limited time, the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds, to be employed in discharging the demands of British subjects on the crown of Spain. This measure, however, excited great indignation; and Mr. William Pitt, who afterwards rendered himself so illustrious by his eloquence, his virtues, and his talents, declaimed against the convention, as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable to Great Britain.

The Spaniards not fulfilling the agreement into which they had entered, letters of marque and reprisal were granted against Spain; a large fleet was assembled at Spithead; the land forces were augmented; and

A. D. 1739 an embargo was laid on all merchant vessels. After another fruitless attempt to negotiate, war was at last formally declared.

Admiral Vernon having affirmed, in the house of commons, that he could take Porto Bello, on the Spanish Main, with six ships, was despatched thither, and actually performed this hazardous service, almost without opposition. On the arrival of this news, the two houses of parliament joined in an address of congratulation on the success of his majesty's arms; and the commons granted all the necessary supplies for carrying on the war.

The minister, however, was become extremely unpopular. War was not the sphere of sir Robert Walpole. Expensive expeditions were projected, without producing any corresponding effect; and the enemy was unmolested in proceeding from one port to another. In consequence, the minister was attacked in the house of commons with much asperity; and though he contrived to retain his situation, it was evident that his administration was verging towards a close.

Charles VI. emperor of Germany, and the last male sovereign of the house of Austria, died at Vienna, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, the archduchess Maria Theresa, married to

A. D.
1740 the grand duke of Tuscany; but, though this princess became queen of Hungary, by virtue of the pragmatic sanction, the restless ambition of her neighbours would not suffer her to enjoy those possessions which had been guarantied by all the powers of Europe. Frederick, the young and aspiring king of Prussia, was no sooner informed of the emperor's death, than he laid claim to Silesia, which he entered at the head of twenty thousand men. At the same time, the elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the archduchess as queen of Hungary and Bohemia, alleging, that he himself had legitimate pretensions to these dominions. Thus a war was kindled in Germany; and the archduchess made requisition of twelve thousand men, stipulated by treaty to be furnished her by England.

In the present posture of affairs, men could be less conveniently spared than money; and sir Robert Walpole moved, that two hundred thousand pounds should be granted in aid to the queen of Hungary. The motion passed, though not without opposition; and the house resolved, that three hundred thousand pounds should be granted to his majesty to enable him to assist the archduchess.

An attempt was made on Carthagena by sir Chaloner Ogle, and admiral Vernon ; but it failed of success, and was attended with the loss of many men, the greatest part of whom were martyrs to the season and the climate. Another unsuccessful expedition to Cuba finished the losses and the disgraces of this campaign. The nation complained loudly of these miscarriages ; and the general discontent had a great effect on the election of members for the new parliament. Notwithstanding all the ministerial influences, the party of opposition evidently prevailed. The adherents of the minister began to tremble ; and sir Robert Walpole knew, that the majority of a single vote would commit him prisoner to the Tower. After endeavouring in vain to bring over the prince of Wales to his party, he prudently meditated a retreat ; and A. D.
1741 the king having adjourned both houses of parliament, in the mean time sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Oxford, and resigned all his employments, after being a minister for twenty years.

The change in the ministry was celebrated with public rejoicings ; yet, if the character of Walpole be candidly appreciated, we shall find less to censure than to praise. That he carried his measures by venal influence must be allowed, and this is the greatest stain that attaches to his character ; but those who suffered themselves to be corrupted were at least equally blameable. When, however, we contemplate his aversion to war, and his disinterested conduct, when so much was at his disposal, we cannot deny him the tribute of our applause.

In the new administration, the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham retained their former situations. Mr. Sandys succeeded sir Robert Walpole as chancellor of the exchequer ; and the earl of Wilmington A. D.
1742 was appointed first lord of the treasury, in the room of the ex-minister. Lord Carteret became secretary of state for the foreign department ; and Mr. Pulteney, who refused any official situation, was sworn of the privy-council, and soon after created earl of Bath.

It soon however appeared, that those who had declaimed the loudest for the liberties of their country, had been actuated solely by sordid or ridiculous motives. The people complained, that, instead of a change of men and measures, the old ministry was strengthened by this coali-

tion; and they branded the new converts as apostates and betrayers of their country.

The parliament voted one hundred thousand seamen and landsmen for the service of the year; five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary; and they provided for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse Cassel. As the king had determined to make a powerful diversion in the Netherlands, sixteen thousand men were embarked for the continent, under the command of the earl of Stair; and several thousand of Hanoverians, Hessians, and Austrians, were taken into British pay.

The troops which the king of Great Britain had assembled in the Netherlands, marched for the Rhine, and encamped at Hoech, on the river Maine. The duke of Cumberland had already come to make his first campaign, and his majesty arrived in the camp on the 9th of June. The king found his army, amounting to about forty thousand men, in a critical situation; and receiving intelligence that a reinforcement of twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau, he resolved to march to that place, as well with a view to effect a junction, as to procure provisions for his forces. Soon after he had begun his march, he perceived the French drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen; and he now found himself enclosed on all sides by the enemy, insomuch that a retreat was impossible. Thus environed, the confederates must either have fought at a great disadvantage, or been obliged to surrender, if the duke de Grammont had not rashly descended into the plain. The French charged with impetuosity, and the allies received the shock with great intrepidity and deliberation. The king himself displayed much personal courage; and the duke of Cumberland was wounded. The French were at last repulsed, and obliged to cross the Maine, with the loss of five thousand men.

A. D.
1743

The French, who had now become principals in the war, projected an invasion of Great Britain, and made preparations for that purpose at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the inspection of the young pretender; but sir John Norris appearing with a fleet superior to that which was to convey the French forces, the expedition was laid aside for that season. However, in the Netherlands, the enemy had considerable success under marshal

A. D.
1744

count Saxe, a natural son of Augustus, king of Poland, by the countess Koningsmark.

In the next campaign, a very numerous army was assembled under marshal Saxe: and the French king and the dauphin arriving in the camp, the strong town
A. D. of Tournay was invested. The duke of Cumber-
1745 land assumed the command of the allied army; and though the confederates were greatly inferior in number to the enemy, they resolved to attempt the relief of Tournay. On the twenty-eighth of April, they came in sight of the French army, strongly encamped under cover of the village of Fontenoy. On the thirtieth of April, they attacked the French in their entrenchments; and though the attempt was considered rash and imprudent, the allied army at first had the advantage; but the destructive fire of the enemy's batteries, to which they were exposed both in front and flank at last obliged them to retreat. The allies lost about twelve thousand men, and the French nearly the same number; but the consequences of this furious battle were all against the English and the allies. Tournay was compelled to surrender; Ghent was surprised and taken; Ostend, Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Newport, and Aeth, were successively reduced; while the allied army lay entrenched behind the canal of Antwerp.

The pretender, Charles, son of the chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition and the hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors, resolved to risk an invasion of Great Britain. Being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms, he embarked on board of a small frigate, accompanied by the marquis of Tullybardine and a few Scottish and Irish adventurers, and was joined by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war, as his convoy. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and to land on the western coast of Scotland; but being met by the Lion, an English ship of the line, an engagement ensued between the Lion and the Elizabeth, in which the latter was so disabled, that she was obliged to return to Brest; and the young pretender was deprived of a great quantity of arms, and the assistance of about one hundred officers, who had embarked in that vessel for the expedition. Charles, however, in the frigate, continued his course to the western isles of Scotland, and on the 27th of July, landed on the

William III.

Anne.

George I.

George II.

George III.

coast of Lochaber, where he was soon joined by twelve hundred men, under their respective chiefs or leaders.

The administration was now sufficiently alarmed. The king was at this time in Hanover. The lords of the regency despatched a messenger to his majesty with the news, and offered a reward of thirty thousand pounds for the apprehension of Charles. Loyal addresses flocked in from all parts. The principal noblemen tendered their services to the government; and the former discontents seemed to be forgotten in the fears of the present moment.

The prince advanced to Perth, where the chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great Britain; and, the rebel army being considerably augmented, Charles, on the 16th of September, took possession of the town of Edinburgh. Here he caused his father again to be proclaimed, and fixed his residence in the royal palace of Holyrood-house.

Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in North Britain, informed of these transactions, assembled all the troops he could muster, and, on the 20th of September, encamped at Preston Pans, in the vicinity of Edinburgh. Next morning he was attacked by the pretender, with about two thousand four hundred highlanders, who charged sword in hand; and in less than ten minutes, the king's troops were totally routed, with the loss of about five hundred men. By this victory, Charles was supplied with a train of field artillery, and found himself possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses.

The pretender continued to reside in the palace of Holyrood-house; but after being joined by the lords Kilmarnock, Elcho, Balmerino, and many other persons of distinction, and receiving considerable supplies from France, he resolved to make an irruption into England. Accordingly, on the 6th of November, he entered Carlisle, whence he advanced to Penrith, and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston to Manchester, where he was joined by about two hundred English jacobites, under the command of colonel Townley. Crossing the Mersey at Stockport, Charles passed through Macclesfield and Congleton to Derby; at which last place a council was held, and it was determined to return into Scotland. The retreat was effected with all the artillery and military stores, in spite of two hostile armies, one under general Wade,

and the other under sir John Ligonier, stationed to intercept the rebels; but the most remarkable circumstance in this expedition was the great moderation and forbearance which the pretender's army exercised, in a country abounding with plunder. No violence or outrage was committed, notwithstanding the extremities to which they must have been reduced.

The duke of Cumberland, being now invested with the chief command, set out for the north, and overtook the rear of the rebels at the village of Clifton, in the vicinity of Penrith, where a skirmish took place. Carlisle, which the pretender garrisoned, submitted to the duke in a few days. Charles, however, after levying heavy contributions on Glasgow, which had displayed its attachment to the government, proceeded to invest the castle of Stirling. General Hawley, commander of the king's forces in that quarter, marched to Falkirk, with the intention of bringing the rebels to an action. The latter, however,

A. D.
1746 began the attack on the seventeenth of January; and their first volley threw the royal forces into disorder. The rebels following up their blow, the royal army abandoned Falkirk, and retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving part of the tents and artillery in the hands of the enemy.

The duke of Cumberland having put himself at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, advanced to Aberdeen, the rebels fleeing all the way before him; and after crossing the deep and rapid river Spey without opposition, he was at length informed, that the enemy were encamped on the plains of Culloden, about nine miles from the royal army. On the 16th of April, the duke of Cumberland left Nairn early in the morning, and, after a march of nine miles, perceived the enemy drawn up in order of battle, to the number of four thousand men. The royal army, which was much more numerous, was immediately formed into three lines.

The action commenced about one o'clock in the afternoon. The artillery of the rebels was badly served, and did little execution; but that of the king's troops made a dreadful havoc among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, about five hundred of the clans charged the duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity; and one regiment was thrown into disorder by the attack of this body; but two

battalions advancing from the second line, supported the first, and galled the enemy by a close and terrible discharge. At the same time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, pulling down a park wall, which guarded the flank of the rebels, fell upon them, and made a horrible slaughter. In less than half an hour, they were totally routed, and the field covered with the slain.

Thus, in one short hour, all the hopes and ambition of the pretender sunk together, and instead of thrones and sceptres, he saw himself a miserable outcast. To the eternal disgrace of the conquerors, they spread terror wherever they came; the whole surrounding country was one sad scene of slaughter, desolation, and plunder; and, in a few days, there was neither man nor house to be seen within the circuit of fifty miles! The unfortunate Charles was now chased by armed troops from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from mountain to mountain. At length, after many escapes and distresses, he found means to embark on board a small vessel, which conveyed him in safety to Morlaix, in Bretagne.

Punishment now awaited those who had escaped death in the field of battle. Seventeen rebel officers were executed at Kennington common, near London. Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat, suffered decapitation on Tower-hill, as did also Mr. Ratchiffe, the titular earl of Derwentwater, on his former sentence in 1716.

The French had fitted out two squadrons at Brest, one to make a descent on the British colonies in America, the other to assist the operations of their arms in the East Indies. These squadrons, however, were intercepted and attacked by admirals Anson and Warren, and nine ships were taken, on board of which was found a great quantity of bullion, which was landed at Spithead, and conveyed in twenty wagons through the streets of London to the bank. Soon after, admiral Hawke defeated a French fleet, and took seven ships of the line and several frigates; and, in the course of this year, the British cruisers were very successful in capturing the vessels of the enemy.

At the close of the session of parliament, the king informed both houses that the preliminaries for a general peace had been actually signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the ministers of Great Britain, France,

A. D.
1747

A. D.
1748

and the United Provinces, on the basis of a general restitution of conquests.

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson were the British plenipotentiaries, it was stipulated, that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir-apparent to the Spanish throne, and his heirs; but, in case of his succeeding to the crown of Spain, that then these dominions should revert to the house of Austria: that the fortifications of Dunkirk to the sea should be demolished; that the king of Prussia should be secured in his possession of Silesia, which he had conquered; and that the queen of Hungary should be guaranteed in her hereditary dominions. No mention was made of the right of the English to sail in the American seas without being subject to a search, though this claim was the original cause of the difference between Great Britain and Spain. In short, it would be difficult to point out one advantage which this country gained by a war that had cost so many millions of money.

As several nations on the continent had reformed their calendar according to the computation of Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, and much confusion in mercantile transactions had arisen, the parliament decreed, that the new year should begin on the first day of January, and that
 A. D. 1752 eleven intermediate nominal days, between the second and fourteenth of September, should this year be omitted, so that the day succeeding the second should be denominated and accounted the fourteenth.

As soon as the French had recovered a little from the effects of the late war, they began to erect forts on the back of the British settlements in North America, and they also attempted to seize Nova-Scotia. The English government receiving only evasive answers from the court of France, on the subject of the encroachments in America, ordered the governors of that country to expel the French by force from their settlements on the river Ohio. In consequence, colonel Washington, who afterwards made himself so famous in the cause of American independence, was despatched from Virginia with four hundred men, and occupying a post on the banks of the Ohio, was attacked by the French, who compelled him to surrender the fort. It was now evident that war was inevitable

France continued to send reinforcements of men, and supplies of ammunition to Quebec, for the purpose of prosecuting her ambitious projects ; and the ministry of Great Britain exhorted the governors of the provinces in North America to repel the incursions of the enemy.

Admiral Boscawen being sent with a squadron of ships to protect the province of Nova-Scotia, captured two French vessels, the Alcide and the Lys. About the same time, general Braddock, who had been sent to Virginia, took upon him the command of the forces destined to act against the French on the Ohio ; and, on the ^{A. D.} ninth of July, while advancing without proper 1755 caution, he was suddenly attacked by a general fire, both in front and flank, from an invisible enemy concealed behind the trees and bushes. The van-guard immediately fell back, and horror and confusion seized the ranks. The general himself was killed by a musket-shot ; and the few remaining soldiers instantly fled and left their baggage and ammunition in the hands of the enemy.

Sir William Johnson, who had been appointed to the command of an expedition against Crown Point, being attacked by the French and Indians near Oswego, on the south-east side of the lake Ontario, defeated the enemy with great loss, but was unable to proceed on the ulterior object of his orders.

In this year happened a terrible catastrophe, which united all parties in one common sentiment of humanity. On the first of November, an earthquake destroyed the greatest part of the city of Lisbon, with an immense number of its inhabitants, while the survivors, destitute of the necessaries of life, were exposed to misery and famine. On this occasion, the parliament of Great Britain generously voted one hundred thousand pounds for the distressed Portuguese.

The next year, a treaty between his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia was signed, by which they mutually engaged not to suffer any foreign troops to enter Germany. On the other hand, the queen of ^{A. D.} Hungary, though she owed every thing to Great 1756 Britain, concluded a treaty of mutual guarantee and support with France ; and she refused to his Britannic majesty the auxiliaries that she had agreed to furnish, on account of her dangerous neighbour, the king of Prussia.

Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Legge, the most popular members of administration, disapproving of the political measures which had been adopted, as ruinous and absurd, were dismissed from office; and the seals were soon after transferred from sir Thomas Robinson to Mr. Fox, whose abilities were universally acknowledged.

The French equipped a formidable squadron of ships at Brest, and assembling a number of land forces and transports, threatened England with an invasion. To meet the attack, several thousand of foreign mercenaries were called upon to assist the country, on the presumption that the menaces of France would be carried into effect; but, under the pretence of an invading armament, the French prepared an expedition, which too well succeeded.

A formidable fleet sailed from Toulon with forces to invade Minorca; and when admiral Byng, who had been sent out too late, arrived at Gibraltar, he found that the enemy had landed, and were besieging Fort St. Philip, which was defended by general Blakeney. The admiral being reinforced by a detachment from the garrison at Gibraltar, proceeded to Minorca, and perceived the British colours still flying at the castle of St. Philip. However, before a landing could be effected, the French fleet, under La Galissoniere, appeared; but though an engagement ensued, both commanders seemed averse to the continuance of the battle; and the French admiral, taking advantage of Byng's hesitation, sailed away.

In a council of war, which was held immediately after this indecisive engagement, it was unanimously agreed, that it was impracticable to relieve the castle of St. Philip, and that it would be advisable to return to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection. General Blakeney receiving no assistance, at length capitulated on honourable terms.

The ministry, irritated against admiral Byng, who had complained that the English fleet had been too long delayed, and that the ships under his command were unfit for service, took no steps to lessen the odium which popular prejudice attached to him; on the contrary, they were pleased to find the blame transferred from themselves, and that the admiral's imputed misconduct exonerated them from censure.

The unfortunate admiral was brought to trial, and the

court determined, that during the engagement off Minorca, he did not use his utmost endeavours to take, seize, and destroy, the ships of the French king, nor exert his utmost power for the relief of the castle of St. Philip; and, that the punishment attached to this sentence was death; but, as they believed that his misconduct arose neither from cowardice nor disaffection, they earnestly recommended him to mercy.

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All the friends and relations of the unhappy man exerted their influence to obtain a remission of his sentence, which popular clamour alone had extorted from his judges; but, the sovereign was told, that the death of Byng was necessary to appease the fury of the people; and, in spite of every application, a warrant was signed for his execution. Thus abandoned to his fate, the unfortunate admiral was not wanting to himself on this trying occasion. Conscious of the uprightness of his intentions, he advanced to the quarter-deck with a firm and deliberate step, and throwing down his hat, kneeled on a cushion, tied one handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped another as a signal to his executioners, when five balls passed through his body, and he fell dead without a struggle.

Notwithstanding this sacrifice, the clamours against the administration continued to increase; and the ministry found it necessary to admit into a participation of office Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, who were alike distinguished for their spirit and integrity; but adverse as these two patriots were to his majesty's scheme of continental politics, they could not agree with their colleagues, and were dismissed from their situations. Addresses, however, poured in from all parts, in favour of the discarded minister; and the king thought proper to reinstate Mr. Pitt in his former situation of secretary of state, and Mr. Legge in the office of chancellor of the exchequer.

Public affairs were adverse at the commencement of this administration. An unsuccessful attempt was made against Rochefort; but what was infinitely more disastrous, the duke of Cumberland, unable to contend with the great military talents of marshal d'Etrees, was obliged to capitulate at Closter Seven, by which Hanover was left in the hands of the French, and an army of thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians were disarmed and disbanded. This inglorious convention seems to have been the crisis of the war,

which, under the guidance of other ministers, produced the most splendid events.

In America, after the return of lord Loudon to England, the chief command devolved on major general Abercrombie. On the 27th of July, Louisburgh and Cape Breton surrendered to the British under major-general Amherst; and Fort du Quesne, which the French had evacuated, was garrisoned under the name of Pittsburgh, in compliment to the minister. The English also concluded a treaty with the Indian nations inhabiting the country between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes; and such was the spirit of enterprise which now animated the cabinet, that the conquest of Canada was projected as the business of a single campaign.

To accomplish this important object, major-general Wolfe, who had already distinguished himself by his military talents, was directed to undertake the siege of Quebec, while general Amherst, after reducing Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was to cross the lake Champlain, and join Wolfe under the walls of the capital of Canada.

The British forces under general Wolfe arrived in the river of St. Lawrence, and encamped near the falls of the Montmorenci. M. de Montcalm, the French commander, though his troops were superior in number to the invaders, had taken every precaution of defence, which the nature of the country afforded. The city of Quebec was tolerably fortified; and Montcalm, having reinforced the troops of the colony, with this army occupied an advantageous situation from the river St. Charles to the falls of the Montmorenci.

On the last day of July, the British general made disposition for an assault, under cover of the fire from the ships in the river; but the English grenadiers, impetuously attacking the enemy's entrenchments in disorder, were repulsed with great loss, and Wolfe was obliged to retreat.

This mortifying check preyed on the spirits of the gallant Wolfe, who could not brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace, and who declared that he would rather die than fail of ultimate success. At length, a new plan of operations was concerted for landing the troops in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of ascending the heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly

Death of Wolfe.

with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, that they might gain possession of the grounds on the back of the city, where it was but slightly fortified.

This plan was put in execution; and the troops were disembarked during the night with secrecy and silence; but the precipice still remained to be ascended. With infinite labour and difficulty, the troops reached the summit of the heights of Abraham, and the general drew them up in order of battle as they arrived. When M. de Montcalm understood that the English had gained these heights, he found himself under the necessity of risking an engagement, in order to save the town, and accordingly advanced his men with great intrepidity. A furious contest ensued, and general Wolfe, who stood in the front of the line, early received a shot in the wrist, to which he paid little regard; but, advancing at the head of the grenadiers, another ball pierced his breast, and compelled him to quit the scene of action. As he reclined on the arm of an officer, he was roused by the exclamation, "they run! they run!" "Who run?" said the brave Wolfe, with great eagerness. "The French," replied the officer. "Then," said he, "I die contented;" and almost immediately expired in the arms of victory.

The French general, M. de Montcalm, was also mortally wounded in the battle, and died soon after; but the advantage remained wholly on the side of the English. Quebec was obliged to surrender, and at length the conquest of all Canada was completed, by the capture of Montreal under general Amherst.

Success indeed attended the British arms in every quarter of the globe. Fort Louis and the isle of Goree, in Africa, submitted to the British; as did also Guadaloupe, in the West Indies. Cherbourg was taken by commodore Howe, and Havre de Grace bombarded by admiral Rodney.

In the Mediterranean, M. de la Clue was defeated by admiral Boscawen, who took four of his ships; and another fleet under M. de Conflans was attacked off Quiberon bay by sir Edward Hawke, when a furious battle ensued, and night alone saved the French from total destruction. In this last engagement, two of the enemy's best ships were sunk, one struck her colours, two were stranded and destroyed, and the *Soleil Royal*, the flag-ship of the French admiral, was burnt by

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her own crew, to prevent her from falling into the hands of the English.

In Germany the war was carried on with great vigour, and the glory of the British arms raised to the highest pitch; and though the empress of Russia had acceded to the alliance concluded between the courts of Versailles and Vienna, the king of Prussia, aided by his Britannic majesty, continued to make head against the numerous armies of those powers.

Such was the general posture of affairs, when George II. died, on the twenty-fifth day of October, in the
A. D. seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth
1760 year of his reign. He was at his palace of Kensington: and having risen at his usual hour, he observed to his attendants, that as the weather was fine, he would walk out. In a few minutes after, being left alone, he was heard to fall; and, being lifted on the bed, he desired, in a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be called; but before she could arrive, he expired.

George the Second was in his person rather below the middle size. In his disposition he is said to have been prone to anger, yet soon appeased; in other respects, he was mild and humane. He was personally brave, and fond of war as a soldier. Though his foreign politics cannot be commended, his internal government deserves unqualified praise.

In this reign, the hopes of the Stuart party and family being baffled, and the legitimacy of the Guelphs generally recognised, the constitutional government, as adjusted at the Revolution, began to display its excellencies and faults, and to acquire its full force.

Parliaments were regularly convened, for the despatch of all business connected with the improvement of the laws, and the regulation of the revenue; and the prerogatives of the sovereign, and the rights of the legislature, were duly recognised and balanced.

The king chose his ministers, and these were amenable to parliament; while the latter was kept in good humour by the influence and patronage of the ministers. The office of prime-minister began now to distinguish our councils. The first who merited the name was sir Robert Walpole, a favourite confidential minister of George the First and Second; and the nation under him and his suc-

cessors, presented the spectacle of a sovereign contented with the splendour of his crown, and with the manifestation of his power, under the advice and responsibility of his ministers; of a parliament whose majorities were governed by the influence of the minister, and the moderation and plausibility of his measures; and of a people obedient to the laws, the operation of which they had the power of controlling by juries formed from their own body.

Such a state of society continued through an entire generation, begat confidence at home and respect abroad. The public securities rose in value, commerce increased, domestic improvements were made, and the capabilities of the nation in arts, arms, and industry, began to develop themselves, and prepare the way for the more decisive events of the succeeding reign.

CONTINUATION,
FROM
THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.
TO THE
CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

CHAP. XXIII.

The reign of George III

ON the decease of George II., the eldest son of Frederic, prince of Wales, succeeded his grandfather, under the most favourable auspices; as the third ^{A. D.} 1760 of his name and family.

This young and native sovereign, whose character and affability of deportment rendered him the object of esteem, was greeted by the enthusiasm of the people. "Born and educated in this country," said his majesty, in his first speech to parliament, "I glory in the name of Briton."

The parliament, with the general approbation, voted the clear yearly sum of £800,000 for the maintenance of his majesty's household, and the support of the royal dignity, in lieu of the civil-list revenues, which had been formerly appropriated for the sovereigns of this country. This was followed by a wise and liberal regulation, by which the judges were rendered independent of the crown, and which, as it passed on the recommendation of the king, justly gained his majesty universal applause.

The war, however, was prosecuted with unabated vigour. The island of Belleisle surrendered to commodore Keppel and general Hodgson. In the East-Indies, the French were divested of all their possessions of importance; and Pondicherry, their capital settlement, was reduced by colonel Coote and admiral Stevens. In the West Indies, Martinico, and some other islands, were added to the list of British conquests.

During these transactions, Mr. Pitt, with that sagacity and intuitive foresight which characterize an able statesman, anticipating the hostile designs of Spain, proposed an immediate declaration of war against that kingdom;

but this measure being opposed by his colleagues in office, and finding that the earl of Bute, who had been governor to his majesty, had acquired an ascendancy in the royal favour, he disdained to act a subordinate part, resigned the seals, and retired with a pension and a peerage for his lady.

Lord Bute, who had been previously appointed one of the principal secretaries of state, was now supposed to influence the decisions of government; but, before the end of the year, the ministry found it necessary to adopt the measure recommended by Mr. Pitt, and to declare war against Spain. Havanna, Manilla, and all the Philippine islands, became, in consequence, the reward of British valour.

Amidst these successes, however, the restoration of peace was equally desired by the victors and the vanquished; and after some time had been spent in negotiation, a definitive treaty was signed at Paris on the 10th of

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1763 February, and peace solemnly proclaimed in London, on the 22d of the following month. By this treaty, Great Britain obtained the extensive province of Canada, East Florida, West Florida, the Grenadas in the West Indies, and some inferior acquisitions; but restored all the other conquests made during the war. These terms were considered in England as degrading to the nation; and clamours were raised against the administration of lord Bute, who had never been a favourite with the people.

About this time too, the daring spirit of John Wilkes, Esq., who sat in parliament for Aylesbury, contributed to hasten the downfall of the Premier. This man published a paper called "The North Briton," in which he attacked the minister with great asperity, and indulged in the grossest scurrility against the whole Scottish nation. Churchill, the poet, employed his satirical powers in the same cause; and the ferment excited by these two able, but profligate characters, was so great, that the earl of Bute thought proper to resign his office of first lord of the treasury, in which he was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville.

One of the first acts of the new minister was the prosecution of Mr. Wilkes, who, in the North Briton, No. 45, had asserted, that his majesty's speech, which he affected to consider as the minister's, contained a falsehood. In consequence of this violation of all decorum, Mr. Wilkes

was apprehended by virtue of a general warrant, his papers were seized, and he was committed to the tower. In the court of common pleas, however, Mr. Wilkes was acquitted of the charge exhibited against him; and lord chief justice Pratt declared, that general warrants were illegal.

Mr. Grenville possessed integrity and abilities, but he wanted a sound discriminating judgment. In order to raise a revenue from the American colonies, he projected a stamp-act, which, being resisted by the Americans, was afterwards repealed; but the attempt and its failure laid the foundation for that fatal contest, which at length terminated in the independence of the American colonies.

The name of the princess of Wales having been omitted in the bill for appointing a regency, in consequence of his majesty's illness, the king, after recovering from his indisposition, determined to change his ministers; and the marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of a new administration. *The highly respectable character of the marquis, however, could not secure the new ministers a continuance in office. Possessing a great share of moderation in principles, their opponents effectually made head against them; and the duke of Grafton became first lord of the treasury; while Mr. Pitt, who was now raised to the dignity of earl of Chatham, accepted the office of privy seal.*

Mr. Charles Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer, who possessed eminent talents for business, but too much versatility of disposition, unhappily revived the design of taxing America, though taxation and representation cannot constitutionally be separated; and while the earl of Chatham was confined by extreme illness, he brought in a bill for imposing a duty on tea, and some other articles imported into the colonies. Against this design, the Americans formed a general combination for not receiving any of the commodities thus taxed, from the mother country; and, the acts were again repealed, except as far as related to the duties on tea. This concession, however, gave little satisfaction to the Americans, who considered the late acts as unconstitutional, and proposed a general union of the colonies for defending their natural rights.

Meanwhile Mr. Townshend died, and his place of

chancellor of the exchequer was filled by lord North. Some other changes also took place ; and the earl of Chatham, who had long been treated with disregard, either on account of his infirmities, or his uncomplying disposition, resigned his office of privy-seal, and from this time lived unconnected with the affairs of government, though he frequently took an active part in the interesting debates which agitated this period.

A. D. 1773 The discontents which had been produced in America by the insidious, not to say unjust designs of the ministry, were about to break out into a flame, that spread into a general conflagration. Laws having been passed for quartering troops in the colonies, and for rendering the governors of the different provinces solely dependant on the crown, the Americans, in order to show their aversion to the measures of the British government, and their determination to resist, destroyed a large quantity of tea at Boston, and obliged ships laden with the same commodity to return from other places without landing their cargoes. In consequence of these proceedings, acts were passed for shutting up the port of Boston, and for altering the constitution of Massachusetts bay and Quebec.

This violent stretch of power excited the utmost indignation in America ; and the colonies entered into a *solemn league and covenant* to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, till the obnoxious acts were repealed. Meanwhile, measures were adopted for holding a general congress of the American colonies ; and a bold and spirited remonstrance, soliciting a redress of grievances, was addressed to the king. All remonstrances and petitions, however, being equally disregarded, and every avenue to accommodation, except by implicit submission, shut up, the Americans determined to have recourse to arms, as the only means left for defending their unalienable rights.

A. D. 1775 On the 19th of April, general Gage, commander in chief, having been informed that the Americans had collected military stores at Concord, sent a detachment to seize them. The detachment was attacked at Lexington, and many were killed on both sides ; but the loss on the side of the British far exceeded that of their opponents.

The torch of civil war being thus lighted up, the colonists flew to arms as if by concert, and assumed the title

of "the United States of America," whose affairs were to be managed by a congress. This body of representatives instantly passed resolutions for raising an army, for issuing a paper currency for its payment, and for prohibiting all importations to those places which still remained faithful in their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain.

A few weeks after this engagement, the British army in America was strengthened by a large reinforcement, which arrived from England, under the command of generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. Martial law was now proclaimed; but the congress was not easily intimidated; and voting that the compact between the crown and the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, was dissolved, they recommended that province to resume its chartered rights.

As further hostilities were now mutually expected, the Americans, that they might secure Charlestown, sent a detachment of men at night to erect some considerable works on Bunker's Hill. When these operations were discovered in the morning, a heavy fire commenced from the ships; and the Americans were with difficulty driven from their entrenchments by generals Howe and Pigot. In this action, which was very severe, the loss of the British in killed and wounded amounted nearly to half

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1775 their number, and included many officers. After this affair, the colonists threw up works on another hill opposite; and the British troops were closely invested in the peninsula.'

The general congress published a very animated declaration, in which their reasons for taking up arms were assigned, and the objects for which they contended were distinctly pointed out. They also appointed George Washington general and commander in chief of the American forces. This gentleman had acquired some experience in the last war, when he commanded different bodies of provincials; and his conduct and military skill fully justified the partiality of his countrymen. Another petition to the king was also voted by congress, in which they earnestly beseeched his majesty to adopt some method of putting a stop to the unhappy contest between Great Britain and the colonies; but this petition, though presented by Mr. Penn, late governor, and one of the proprietors of Pennsylvania, did not obtain an answer.

In the mean time, the Americans, prepared for every

event, and animated with the enthusiasm of a people contending for liberty, no longer confined themselves to defensive operations. Ticonderoga and Crown Point had already been taken by a party of Americans; and it was determined to fit out an expedition against Canada, under generals Montgomery and Arnold; but in an attempt against Quebec, Montgomery fell, and Arnold, after being dangerously wounded, was compelled to make a precipitate retreat.

The state of the royal army at Boston had now become deplorable. By a masterly stroke, Washington compelled the British to abandon the town; and all the English troops, with such loyalists as chose to accompany them, were precipitately embarked and conveyed ^{A. D.} 1776 to Halifax. Next day, general Washington entered Boston in triumph.

Soon after, congress, in a solemn declaration, withdrew all allegiance from the king of Great Britain, and assumed for the colonies the style and character of "Free and Independent States." They also published articles of confederation and perpetual union between the provinces; while in proportion as the prospect of bringing them to submission was lessened, the arrogance and infatuation of the British ministry, at the head of whom was lord North, seemed to increase.

An unsuccessful attempt was made upon Charlestown, in which the English suffered severely; but about the same time, general Howe obtained possession of New-York; and general Clinton and sir Peter Parker took Rhode Island. General Howe, and his brother, admiral lord Howe, were regarded with partiality by the Americans; and some overtures of reconciliation were made by the two brothers; but the manifesto which they published offered only pardon to the colonists, and produced no beneficial purpose.

The ill success of the Americans, however, was productive of those internal effects which operate as strongly as external force; and at this period, if terms of concession had been offered by Great Britain, the constitutional supremacy of the mother country might probably have been acknowledged; but the time of conciliation was neglected, and the infatuation of ministers prevailed.

In the next campaign, the Americans were defeated by

general Howe in the battle of Brandywine ; and the English entered Philadelphia in triumph. On the other hand, general Burgoyne, who had set out from Quebec with an army of ten thousand men, in order to form a line of communication between New-York and Canada, after driving the Americans before him for some time, was at last surrounded at Saratoga by general Gates, and obliged to lay down his arms.

The success of the Americans now determined the court of France to declare in favour of the new republic ; and so gloomy was the prospect of Great Britain, that ministers sent commissioners to America to treat of peace ; but this attempt at conciliation was of no essential service.

Hostilities commenced with France, by a naval engagement between admiral Kepple and count d'Orvilliers ; and victory would have been decisive in favour of the British, if sir Hugh Palliser had obeyed the signals of the admiral. Both officers were tried before a court-martial. Palliser, though found guilty, was only slightly censured ; while admiral Kepple was honourably acquitted.

Meanwhile, Pondicherry in the East, and the island of St. Lucia in the West Indies, were captured by the English ; but Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada, were taken by the French, who assisted the Americans with a fleet commanded by the count d'Estaing. In attempting the relief of Grenada, an indecisive engagement took place between admiral Byron with a fleet of twenty-one ships, and the count d'Estaing, who had twenty-five or twenty-six ships of the line, besides twelve frigates, under his command. After this action, the French admiral, in conjunction with the Americans, attempted the reduction of Savannah, but was frustrated by general Prevost. In Europe, the French made a descent with a considerable force on Jersey, but were repulsed by the promptitude of major Pearson, the English commandant, who fell in the moment of victory, at the head of his small corps.

Before the close of this session, his majesty announced to parliament that Spain had joined the alliance against England ; and this new enemy having joined the French with thirty ships of the line, the combined fleets of those two neighbouring powers for some time rode triumphant

in the British channel, and menaced the English coast with impunity. Spain also took New-Orleans on the Mississippi, and closely invested Gibraltar.

Admiral sir George Rodney, being appointed to the chief naval command in the West Indies, obtained a complete victory over a Spanish fleet of eleven sail off Cape St. Vincent; and after relieving Gibraltar, he proceeded to execute his ulterior orders, and had three indecisive engagements with the French fleet in the West Indies. A. D.
1780

In June, the same year, happened one of the most dreadful riots in London which history records. It arose from the fanaticism of an association of protestant sectaries, who fancied that religion was in danger, on account of some just and equitable indulgences which the legislature had recently granted to the Roman catholics. A mob, collected by a procession of this association, pulled down or burnt several popish chapels, broke open many of the prisons, and liberated both felons and debtors. In a few days, however, the riots were quelled, and lord George Gordon, the president of the association, was committed to the tower.

From the agitations of war and faction, we turn with pleasure to the progress made by science and the arts, under the munificent patronage of George the Third. Byron, who was commissioned in 1764 to explore the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and circumnavigate the globe, corrected by his observations the errors of former charts, and discovered several islands in the South Pacific. A few years after, captain Wallis sailed on a similar expedition, and, on the 19th of June, 1767, perpetuated his name by the discovery of Otaheite, (or King George's Island,) in the South Pacific, and of other islands in the same ocean. Carteret also traversed the Pacific, and circumnavigated the globe. Each of these navigators contributed an accession of geographical knowledge.

To captain James Cook, however, more than to any other individual since the time of Columbus, we are indebted for extending the boundaries of geographical science. In his first voyage to the Pacific ocean, in 1770, he discovered the Society Islands, determined the insularity of New Zealand, and explored the eastern coast of New-Holland. In his second voyage, in 1773, he disco-

terminated the hopes of the British government in America, and ended the war.

About the same time, St. Eustatius was recovered from the English; and the Spaniards made themselves masters of West Florida. The siege of Gibraltar was also carried on with vigour; but the place was very ably defended by the heroic governor, general Elliot.

In the East Indies, Hyder Ally, the confederate of France, took Arcot by assault, and cut to pieces, or made prisoners of a detachment under colonel Baillie. Sir Eyre Coote, however, defeated Hyder in two subsequent engagements, relieved Vellore, and retrieved the fortune of the war in the Carnatic.

After the surrender of earl Cornwallis to general Washington, the influence of the British ministry was at an end; and a change of measures appearing absolutely necessary, a complete revolution in the cabinet took place on the twenty-seventh of March, under the auspices ^{A. D.} 1782 of the marquis of Rockingham, who was appointed first lord of the treasury. The earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox were appointed secretaries of state.

Peace was now ardently desired by all ranks of people in this country; and the new ministry consented that the independence of America should be allowed, and entered into measures for effectuating a general treaty of pacification. For this purpose, Mr. Grenville was sent to Paris, with full powers to treat with all the belligerent nations, and orders were despatched to the commanders in chief in America, to acquaint them with the pacific views of the British cabinet, and with the offer of independence to the United States.

After the capture of lord Cornwallis and his army, the English suffered a series of losses in America. The French took Nevis, St. Christophers, and Montserrat; the Bahama islands surrendered to the Spaniards; and Jamaica was threatened by the fleets of Spain and France, on board of which was an army of twenty thousand men. This formidable armament, however, was prevented from uniting by the promptitude and bravery of admiral Rodney, who engaged and totally defeated the French under count de Grasse, before it could form a junction with the Spanish fleet. The French admiral, in the *Ville de Paris* of 120 guns, was taken, with two seventy-four gun ships, and one

of sixty-four guns. Two other ships of the line were lost in the action ; and a few days after, sir Samuel Hood captured two more French ships of the line and two frigates. This decisive and glorious victory, which was achieved on the 12th of April, put a stop to the intended project against Jamaica ; and admiral Rodney, in reward for his services, was gratified with a peerage and a pension.

The valour of the British arms was most remarkably displayed at Gibraltar, where the English, under that brave veteran general Elliot, acquired immortal honour, and converted one of the most formidable attacks that had

Sept. ever been made in the history of sieges, to the de-
13, struction of the assailants, and the frustration of all
1782 the hopes of the enemy. The enthusiasm and gal-
 lantry of Elliot and his garrison were emulated by
 lord Howe and the fleet. To the admiration of all Eu-
 rope, that brave admiral, with thirty-four sail of the line,
 passed the straits in the face of a superior enemy, and
 threw succours into the fortress.

This was the last transaction of importance during the continuance of the war in Europe ; and thus the military career of Britain, after her repeated misfortunes, terminated with great splendour. All the belligerent powers were now inclined to listen to overtures of pacification. The happy prospect, however, of peace and prosperity was obscured for a time by the death of the marquis of Rockingham, from whose administration the nation had formed great expectations. He was succeeded by the earl of Shelburne, and Mr. Fox resigned his office of secretary of the northern department.

The new ministers, however, continued the negotiation for peace ; and as the independence of America was virtually recognised, the war with the colonies had in fact terminated. At length, on the 30th of November, 1782, provisional articles, between England and America, were signed at Paris. By this treaty, the sovereignty and independence of the United States were fully acknowledged. So great, indeed, were the concessions of ministers on this occasion, that they neglected the interests of the loyalists in America, whose estates had been confiscated, and who were thus thrown on the generosity of the British.

In our treaties with the French, the Dutch, and the Spaniards, the same improvident facility was apparent ;

Rescuing the Spaniards before Gibraltar.

and these treaties, when submitted to parliament, extorted the severest animadversions. By this calamitous war, Great Britain lost the best part of her transatlantic colonies, and, besides many thousands of valuable lives, expended or squandered nearly 150 millions of money. The address of thanks for the peace was carried in the house of lords by a majority of 72 to 59, but lost in the house of commons by a majority of 224 to 208.

It was now discovered that Mr. Fox, in his animosity to the earl of Shelburne, had formed a coalition with his former political antagonist, lord North. This unnatural and unprincipled coalition, which excited general indignation, was defended by Mr. Fox on the strange plea, that the question of American independence being now at rest, he had no desire to perpetuate his enmity to a statesman whom he had found honourable as an adversary, and of whose openness and sincerity as a friend he had no doubt.

Their united opposition prevailed, and a change took place in the ministry. The duke of Portland was placed at the head of the treasury, lord John Cavendish was made chancellor of the exchequer, and lord North and Mr. Fox were appointed joint secretaries of state. The coalition administration became the theme of universal and passionate execration; and when public confidence is once lost, it can never be completely regained.

Mr. Pitt, the son of the immortal earl of Chatham, and who afterwards rivalled his father's glory, made a motion for a parliamentary reform, and proposed to add one hundred members to the counties, and abolish a proportionable number of the obnoxious boroughs. This plan, though certainly the most judicious that has yet been proposed for the independence of parliamentary representation, was negatived by a large majority.

Soon after the meeting of parliament in November, Mr. Fox introduced a bill for regulating the affairs of the East-India Company. This famous bill proposed to deprive the directors and proprietors of the entire administration, not only of their territorial, but also of their commercial affairs, and to vest the management and direction of them in seven commissioners named in the bill, and irremovable by the crown, except in consequence of an address of either house of parliament. It passed through the lower

house by a great majority, but was lost in the upper, after very animated debates, in which its unconstitutional principles were fully exposed.

The king, being informed of the nature and tendency of this bill, considered himself duped and deceived ; and the coalition ministry, which had been deservedly unpopular, were suddenly dismissed. Mr. Pitt, then a very young man, was declared first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer ; the marquis of Caermarthen, and Mr. Thomas Townshend, created lord Sydney, were nominated secretaries of state ; and lord Thurlow was appointed to the office of lord-chancellor. The intelligence of this change was received by the nation with transports of joy.

The discarded ministers, however, still maintained their influence in the house of commons ; and the singular spectacle was exhibited of a minister retaining his situation in defiance of the votes of the commons, and of an opposition restraining the power of the executive, by prohibiting the issuing of payments from the bank or the exchequer, for the public service. At length, after strong and repeated contests between the two factions, during which the minister found himself frequently in a minority, the parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and a new one convened. So complete was the rout of the coalition party, that of one hundred and sixty members who lost their seats at the general election, nearly the whole were the friends either of Mr. Fox or lord North.

The arrangements of a plan for the future government of India, was the most important business to which the attention of the new parliament was first directed. The bill which Mr. Pitt introduced for that purpose, was carried through the house of commons by a great majority ; and in the upper house, though strongly opposed, it passed with a few dissenting votes.

In the next session, Mr. Pitt brought forward his plan for a reform in the representation, varying in some measure from his former project, but in every respect temperate and judicious. The result of this plan was to give one hundred members to the popular interest, and to extend the elective franchise to more than one hundred thousand persons, who, by the existing laws, were excluded from voting for members of parliament. After a debate of considerable length, in which Mr. Fox

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bestowed on the plan a just and liberal tribute of praise, the bill was rejected by a majority of 274 to 174. Mr. Pitt was equally unsuccessful in attempting to settle the commerce of England and Ireland on a mutual and equitable footing. His propositions, which were amended in the house of lords, passed in England with difficulty ; but, in the Irish parliament, they were rejected with marked disapprobation.

Among the various measures agitated by parliament during the next session, was a plan for extinguishing the national debt. This celebrated plan was founded on a report framed by a select committee, who had A. D.
1786 been appointed to examine the annual income and expenditure of the state. By this report it appeared, that the public income for the year 1785 exceeded the annual expenditure by £900,000. This surplus the minister proposed to increase to one million, and to appropriate the annual sum of one million to the liquidation of the national debt. This annual million Mr. Pitt proposed to be vested in the hands of certain commissioners, to be by them applied regularly in the purchase of stock. In the progress of the bill, Mr. Fox suggested an amendment, which was gratefully received by the minister—that whenever a new loan should in future be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept of the loan, or such proportion of it as should be equal to the cash then in their hands ; and that the interest and *douceur* annexed to it should be applied to the purposes of the sinking-fund. The bill finally passed, with great and deserved approbation ; and this measure has been in general pursued under almost every change of circumstances, and amidst unexampled difficulties.

During the following year, the republican party in Holland having obtained an accession of strength, and being secretly favoured by the court of France, renounced the authority of the Stadtholder, under the pre- A. D.
1787 text that he sacrificed the interests of his country to predilection for the English. The active interference, however, of the king of Prussia, in defence of the prince of Orange, to whom he was nearly related by marriage, restored the authority of the Stadtholder, while the dignified tone and vigorous preparations of the British minister intimidated the French from assisting the republicans.

This year is also remarkable for the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq., late governor-general of Bengal. The trial of this gentleman continued for seven years, and terminated in his honourable acquittal. The disgraceful procrastination of his trial, and the acrimony with which it was conducted, led many to compassionate a man, who, held up as a great public delinquent, seemed destined to lead a life of impeachment, and to have become the object of a relentless persecution. If there were errors in the conduct of Warren Hastings, they were more than compensated by his exertions and moral intentions; and it may safely be affirmed, that in the administration of India, he in general deserved praise rather than censure, and that his character will be always venerated in this country, which was essentially benefitted by his services.

The next session was memorable for the first discussion in parliament on the subject of the inhuman traffic in slaves. **A. D. 1788** Mr. Wilberforce, who had announced his intention of moving for the abolition of that abominable trade, was unavoidably absent from indisposition; but, at the suggestion of sir William Dolben, some regulations were enacted for restraining the cruelties practised on board the slave-ships.

The same year being the centenary of the glorious revolution of 1688, the 5th of November, the day of king William's landing, was celebrated by rejoicings in various parts of the kingdom.

Soon after the recess of parliament, the king, who had been rather indisposed, was advised to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham, where he appeared to recover his health; but on his return to London, late in the summer, his illness returned with new and alarming symptoms; and it could no longer be concealed, but that the malady with which he was afflicted was a mental derangement, that rendered him wholly incapable of public business.

It now became necessary to appoint a regent to exercise the royal functions till the health of his majesty should be restored; and Mr. Fox claimed this high office in the name, and on the behalf of the heir-apparent, as appertaining to his royal highness of right. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt and his adherents, who formed by far the most numerous body, both in and out of parliament, maintained, that the heir to the crown was merely a subject; that it

was little short of treason against the constitution to urge his right to the regency, and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature to supply the temporary deficiency.

Long and violent debates ensued in parliament, on the restraints under which the minister thought it necessary to subject the prince of Wales, as regent, in the exercise of his authority. At last, the regency bill was about to pass,* when to the unspeakable joy of the nation, as well as of every member of his august family, his majesty, on the tenth of March, sent a message to parlia-
ment, to acquaint them with his recovery, and his
ability to attend to the public business of the kingdom. These tidings diffused an universal and heartfelt satisfaction. Every town, every village, exhibited its testimonies of loyalty and affection to the best of sovereigns at the instant; and these renewed on the twenty-third of April, when his majesty, in solemn procession, went to St. Paul's cathedral, to return thanks to Heaven for his recovery.

In the month of July in this year, one of the most unexpected and extraordinary revolutions took place in France that the annals of history record. The deranged state of the finances of France, and the mild disposition and moderate principles of Louis XVI., the reigning sovereign, inducing him to assemble the notables of his kingdom, an opportunity was taken to subvert the monarchy, and to reduce the king to a state of degradation, which prevented him not only from doing wrong, but from rendering any essential service to the state. The bastille, which had long been used for the most despotic purposes, was suddenly levelled to the ground, and the prisoners liberated; while a national assembly, chosen by the people, wrested from the king the privilege of making war or peace, and abolished all titles of peerage and distinction of orders. The frame of government was entirely changed, and a limited hereditary monarchy was established, in which the legislative authority was rendered superior to the executive, the latter being allowed only a suspensive vote. The person of the king was declared inviolable, and the throne indivisible.

* The parliament of Ireland invited the prince of Wales to accept the regency without any limitation, while the British legislature imposed many restrictions.

Some British adventurers having established a settlement at Nootka or King's Sound,* on the north-west coast of America, for the purpose of trading with the natives for furs, the Spaniards, who claimed the exclusive sovereignty of this coast, from Cape Horn to the sixtieth degree of north latitude, seized on the fort, and captured such English vessels as were found trading in those parts. This conduct produced remonstrances to the court of Spain; but the Spaniards being unwilling to make any atonement for the act of violence of which they had been guilty, both nations prepared for war. The matter, however, was at last settled by a convention, by which Spain conceded every point in dispute, though the Spanish flag at the fort and settlement of Nootka was never struck.

By an act passed in the next session of parliament, Canada was divided into two distinct governments, to each of which a legislative council and assembly were appointed, after the model of the British constitution. The councils were nominated by the sovereign, and the houses of assembly were chosen by the people. The habeas corpus act became a fundamental law of the constitution of Canada; and the British parliament were restrained from imposing any other taxes than such as were necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce. This wise and salutary measure has been productive of the best effects, and will probably secure the dependence of that province on Great Britain, by the strong tie of gratitude and interest.

In the course of this year, England was nearly involved in hostilities with Russia. That power, leagued with Austria, had for some time carried on a war against the Turks. The Germans, however, were very unsuccessful in this unjust warfare; but the Russians defeated the Turks in every battle, and took from them several strong places, particularly Oczakow and Ismael. At the siege of Suwarroff, who commanded the Russians, caused about thirty thousand of the inhabitants to be put to death, and fixed an indelible stain on his character.

These successes, and the cruelties which accompanied them, alarmed the British court, and a large fleet was

* First discovered by captain Cook, in his last voyage round the world.

ed out, in order to prevent Russia from obtaining the navigation of the Black Sea ; but the majorities which the minister was able to command in parliament on this occasion, being very inconsiderable, and the popular voice being decidedly against the policy of going to war with Russia, the armament was laid aside, after an enormous expense had been incurred, and the Porte concluded a peace with the czarina on her own terms. In justice, however, to the administration, it should be observed, that the measures which they adopted on this occasion were founded in wisdom and sound policy ; and that, if their designs had not been counteracted by the violence of faction in parliament, those sentiments prevailed among the great mass of the people, it seems probable the partition of Poland, and other encroachments and revolutions which followed, might have been prevented.

The events which had taken place in France had excited much interest in this country, and provoked discussions which occasioned the supporters of the French revolution to be regarded as inimical to the British constitution, while the opponents of that measure were considered as the faithful guardians and defenders of our excellent establishment in church and state. It was, indeed, natural that the dawn of liberty in a country long enslaved, should be hailed with joy by the generous sympathy of nations, who had long enjoyed the blessings of civil and religious liberty ; but it was not to be expected, that the anarchy and violence which prevailed in France would have been regarded with any other feelings than those of detestation and abhorrence, and that the friends of the British constitution would have evinced their approbation of principles, which they saw perverted, and applied to the most dangerous purposes.

On the anniversary of the 14th of July, the day on which the bastille had been demolished, the partisans of liberty in this country agreed to celebrate that event by festive meetings in several of the principal towns and cities of the kingdom. This was certainly an act of indiscretion, as the French revolution had incurred great odium by the events which had lately taken place in France, and as the spirit of party prevailed in a most violent degree at this time in England. In Birmingham, where great animosity had long subsisted between the high-church

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party and the dissenters, at the head of whom was the justly celebrated philosopher, Dr. Priestley, the meeting was attended with the most lamentable consequences. The persons who there assembled to commemorate the French revolution, were insulted by a furious mob, who shouted "church and king," and who broke the windows of the hotel in which the company were assembled. Incited and inflamed by their leaders, the mob dispersed over the town and its vicinity, set on fire the meeting-houses, and the dwellings of the most eminent dissenters, and giving a loose to every kind of intemperance, became equally formidable to both parties. The mansion of Dr. Priestley was consumed, with his valuable library and philosophical apparatus; and thus a man, whose talents would have been an honour to any country, was treated by these Vandals as a foe to the human race, and ultimately obliged to take shelter in America. No effectual effort was employed to check these infamous and disgraceful proceedings, till the arrival of some troops of dragoons from Nottingham, when, after four days of tumult and devastation, order and tranquility were restored. Many of the rioters were brought to trial, and three of them capitally punished.

In the East Indies, earl Cornwallis, who had been appointed governor-general of Bengal, carried on with equal conduct and good fortune the war against Tippoo Saib, in which this country had been involved by the intrigues of the French. After overcoming all impediments, he formed the siege of Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, and obliged Tippoo to conclude a peace on the terms offered to him, and to give his two sons as hostages for the performance of its conditions.

When parliament met, Mr. Pitt, to the agreeable surprise of the nation, proved that the finances were in such a flourishing state, that government would be enabled to lighten the burdens of the people, by taking off taxes to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds a year, and, at the same time, to appropriate double that sum for the reduction of the national debt. He also observed, that the general state of affairs in Europe promised a continuance of peace, and that he expected an immediate reduction of the naval and military establish-

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ment. These brilliant prospects, however, were obscured before the conclusion of the year.

The continental powers, jealous of the principles which had been developed in the French revolution, held a secret convention at Pilnitz, in Lusatia, where it was determined to prepare for war against France. The haughty demands of restitution urged by the emperor, left no other alternative to the French people than to declare war against Austria; and Prussia joining against France, it was evident that Great Britain could not long be kept out of the vortex. The combined armies of Austria and Prussia entered France under the duke of Brunswick, accompanied by the Prussian monarch in person; and, under the sanction of the two courts, was issued a proclamation, which denounced the most dreadful vengeance against the French nation, and threatened to punish as rebels to their king, and destroyers of the public tranquility, all such as were found in arms against the troops of the allied powers.

This savage and impolitic manifesto, which seemed purposely calculated to complete the ruin of the French king, filled up the measure of the popular fury. The palace of the Thuilleries was attacked by the Parisian populace; and, being resolutely defended by the Swiss guards, a most bloody conflict ensued, which terminated in the total defeat and destruction of the guards, and the complete triumph of the Parisians. The king, with the queen, at the commencement of the engagement, had made a precipitate retreat to the hall of the national assembly, and that unfeeling body committed them close prisoners to the temple. Soon after, Louis XVI. was formally deposed, and the abolition of royalty in France decreed by the national convention. Massacres, unparalleled in the annals of civilized nations, were perpetrated under the sacred name of liberty. The prisons were forced open; and all those murdered, who had been confined for imputed sentiments of royalty. In short, the party which had usurped all power in France, were guilty of atrocities, which, to relate in simple terms, would turn humanity pale. On this occasion, the princess Lamballe was one of the many victims to their infernal vengeance; and her fate was attended with such circumstances of horror as could scarcely enter into the imagination of man.

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After the deposition of Louis, our ambassador was recalled from Paris; and though Chauvelin, the French ambassador, still remained in London, he was not acknowledged in any official capacity. Not only were the Austrian and Prussian armies compelled to evacuate France, but the French general Dumourier overran the Low Countries in a series of triumphs; and, before the year had closed, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, with the exception of Luxemburgh and Liege, had submitted to the arms of the republican invaders. In the exultation occasioned by these successes, the convention passed their famous decree, offering fraternity and assistance to all nations engaged in a struggle for liberty; and, on the capture of Antwerp, they declared the navigation of the Scheldt free, which this country was bound by treaty to resist.

These decrees were justly obnoxious to the British ministry, as encouraging sedition and revolt in every monarchical government, and treating with contempt the rights of neutral nations. A royal proclamation appeared, in which it was declared, that evil disposed persons in this country were acting in concert with others in foreign parts, in order to subvert the laws and constitution; and avowing his majesty's design of forthwith embodying a part of the militia. Considerable alarm was spread through the sound part of the nation, of which description the majority was immense; and both public bodies and private individuals testified their zeal for preserving the public peace, and supporting the constitution of their country. Numerous associations were formed against republicans and levellers; loyal addresses poured in from all parts; and the pulpit and the press were alike employed in recommending social order, and in disseminating those principles which had raised Britain to a state of unexampled political happiness.

When the parliament met, the infamous fraternizing decree of France having excited just alarm and indignation, a bill was passed, by which his majesty should be empowered to order aliens to quit the kingdom, as circumstances might justify or policy require. It was now sufficiently evident, that hostilities between Great Britain and France would not be long deferred.

A sentiment of horror pervaded the nation, when intelligence was received of the condemnation and public exe-

cution of the unfortunate Louis XVI. the mildest and most inoffensive of a long line of kings, who suffered death, by the punishment of the guillotine, on the 21st of January. The parliament being sitting, advantage was taken of the sensation which this melancholy event produced, to unite all parties in the vigorous prosecution of a war, for which preparations had long been making. Chauvelin, the accredited minister of Louis XVI., was ordered to quit the kingdom; and the French republic, regarding his dismissal as a direct act of hostility, declared war against the king of Great Britain, and the prince of Orange, as stadtholder of the United Provinces.

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The necessity of this war, which was actively undertaken by this country without any formal declaration, was warmly disputed in parliament; and it was affirmed that hostilities with France, on the grounds alleged by ministers, were neither for the honour nor the interest of Great Britain. The English troops, under the command of the duke of York, having joined those of Austria and Prussia, the combined armies defeated the French generals, Valence, Miranda, Dumourier, and Dampierre, and took the cities of Valenciennes, Conde, Mentz, and Quesnoy. It was resolved in a council of war, that the British, Hanoverians, and Dutch, should separate from the main army, and attack West Flanders. Accordingly, the British forces under the duke of York made an attempt on Dunkirk; but the English army was compelled to retreat with the loss of all its heavy artillery.

Meanwhile, the fury of the jacobins in France roused the people in several provinces to resistance; and lord Hood being cruising in the Mediterranean, the inhabitants of Toulon entered into a negotiation with him, and delivered into his possession the town and the shipping; but the republicans, collecting a large irregular force, attacked the place with such impetuosity, that the English were obliged to withdraw, after destroying nine of the enemy's ships of the line and some frigates.

Though this campaign was on the whole successful on the side of the allies, yet its termination was by no means equally auspicious as its commencement. They had preserved Holland and recovered the Netherlands; but the tide of success was now turned against the confederates,

who, acting without any regularly concerted plan, showed alternate vigour and irresolution.

At home, revolutionary doctrines were industriously propagated, and seditious societies formed; and several persons of talents, who had lent their aid in promoting schemes dangerous to the constitution, were arrested and brought to trial. By the severity of the laws of Scotland, some of them, being convicted of sedition in that country, were sentenced to be transported to Botany Bay, which was accordingly carried into execution; but in England, the promoters of disorder and confusion, who had been indicted for high treason, were all eventually acquitted. The merits of the judgments on the delinquents in Scotland afterwards underwent a discussion in parliament.

A message from the king to both houses of parliament announced the avowed intentions of the enemy to invade this country. A great augmentation of the militia, and an addition of volunteer fensible corps, were accordingly voted. The ardour with which young men of all ranks entered into these military associations, for the purpose of defending their country, equally damped the resolution of domestic traitors and foreign foes; and the preparations which had been made for invading England began to slacken, and were at last wholly discontinued.

On the continent, the arms of the allies, from a want of cordial co-operation, had experienced many reverses; but the English were consoled by the splendid naval victory obtained by lord Howe over the French fleet, which had ventured from Brest harbour, for the purpose of protecting a large convoy from America. In this action, which was warmly contested, the French suffered a total defeat, with the loss of six ships of the line taken, and one sunk. The French fleet consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, and the English of twenty-five. In the West Indies, Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadeloupe, were successively captured; and in the East, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Mahie, fell under the power of the English. In short, signal as had been the disasters of the allied armies on the continent, in almost every enterprise in which the British were singly engaged, they were completely successful.

An accession was made to the British empire by the an-

nexation of Corsica to the crown of England ; but policy, or necessity, in a short time compelled this country to abandon an island, which would ever have been attended with more expense than advantage.

When the victories of the French in the Netherlands had removed their apprehensions from foreign enemies, their attention was directed to internal tyranny. After the jacobins had triumphed over the girondists, they were themselves divided into two parties. Those called the faction of the cordeliers, being opposed to the views of Robespierre, who had made rapid strides to single despotism, were arrested by his orders, and put to death. The French people, however, no sooner considered the atrocities of which Robespierre had been guilty, than a powerful party was formed against him ; and the fall of the tyrant put an end to the reign of terror in France ; but under every successive faction, the arms of the republic prevailed on the continent, and at once Germany, Spain, and Italy, felt their irresistible force. The united provinces were speedily overrun by a French army ; and the Stadtholder, with his family, sought refuge in England.

In this year, Poland, overwhelmed by a foreign despotism, was blotted out from the number of European kingdoms, and its territories were divided between Prussia, Austria, and Russia, the three powers that conspired and effected its ruin.

The splendid successes of the French in the last campaign, had disposed most of the neighbouring powers to acknowledge the republic. Prussia and ^{A. D.} 1795 Spain concluded a treaty with France ; and Holland, being *fraternized* by the French, the Dutch, from long treacherous friends, became the open enemies of this country. Warm debates took place in the British parliament on the subject of peace ; but the warlike proposals of ministers were still supported by great majorities. At this period of the contest, the nation seemed weary and dispirited ; but another victory by sea, gained by lord Bridport, off port l'Orient, tended to encourage the people, and to convince them that they were invulnerable on their native element. The engagement began early in the morning, and continued till three in the afternoon, by which time three ships of the line had struck their colours. The

rest of the French squadron, keeping close in shore, escaped into l'Orient.

In the spring of this year, his royal highness the prince of Wales contracted a matrimonial alliance with his cousin, the princess Caroline Amelia, daughter of the duke of Brunswick. This marriage, which gave great joy to the people, eventually proved a source of much domestic misery and national inquietude. In the following year, the princess gave birth to a daughter; and, soon after, a formal separation of the parents took place.

Various circumstances had inspired the English people with a spirit of discontent. The cruel and illegal practices of crimps for the recruiting service had occasioned several violent tumults; and the increasing scarcity of provisions aggravated the public ill-humour. The reforming societies began to act with great boldness; and that denominated the Corresponding Society held several public meetings, one of which, in the fields near Copenhagen House, was computed to be attended by fifty thousand persons, and was distinguished by the daring addresses made to the people. On the first day of the meeting of parliament, his majesty was grossly insulted in passing to the house of lords by a furious mob, who clamorously demanded peace, and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt.

In consequence of this outrage, two bills passed both houses of parliament; one for the better security of his majesty's person, by extending the laws of treason: the other, for the prevention of seditious meetings. These bills, however, did not pass without strong opposition.

This year, that valuable settlement, the Cape of Good Hope, and part of Ceylon, were wrested from the Dutch; but an expedition to Quiberon, in which were embarked about three thousand French emigrants, entirely failed.

An overture was made by the British government to negotiate a peace with France; but it was so captiously, not to say insolently received, that it was impossible to take any farther steps for the attainment of this object. The truth seems to be, that the two governments were less inclined to a pacification than the people, who were anxious to be relieved from a war, the evils of which were severely felt, and the eventual advantages of which they did not comprehend, or did not think sufficient to compensate the pressures under which they laboured.

During the last campaign, the French had been less successful than in the former year; but the directory made vigorous preparations for placing the numerous armies of the republic in a most formidable posture; and the success of the French arms was not surpassed in any former period. In Italy, the republican troops were com-

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manded by general Bonaparte,* whose advance into that country was an almost uninterrupted career of victory. He defeated the imperialists at Lodi, and compelled nearly the whole of Italy to sue for peace. In Germany, too, the campaign began successfully on the side of the French; and generals Moreau and Jourdan penetrated to the very heart of the empire; but they were afterwards repelled by the archduke Charles, who drove back the invaders.

Hence the love of peace became more and more felt by the British and the Austrians, who now alone remained of the grand confederacy which had been formed against France; but in proportion as the enemy was successful, he increased his demands, and refused to listen to equal terms of accommodation. To evince the sincerity of their desire for peace, the British ministry sent lord Malmesbury as plenipotentiary to Paris, to open a negotiation with the French republic. A mutual restitution of conquests was the basis on which his lordship was empowered to treat; but the French refusing to restore the Netherlands, ordered lord Malmesbury to quit Paris in forty-eight hours, and the French territory with as much expedition as possible. Whether either of the two governments was really desirous of peace at this time, seems very doubtful.

At the close of this year, the French, encouraged by reports of disaffection in Ireland, attempted, with thirteen ships of the line, and a large body of troops, to make a descent at Bantry-bay; but the winds dispersing the armament, the commander-in-chief, who had arrived at his

* Napoleon Bonaparte was a native of Corsica, where he was born in 1769. With the most intrepid courage, and an aspiring ambition, he possessed talents of the first order, which raised him to the summit of power in France, and rendered him formidable to all the neighbouring nations. After seating himself on the throne of the Bourbons, the whole of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain, submitted to the will of this wonderful man.

place of destination, returned to Brest with the loss of one ship of the line and two frigates.

In Saldanna bay, a Dutch fleet of seven sail of the line, which had sailed in hopes of retaking the Cape of Good Hope, was captured by admiral Elphinstone; and thus ended a campaign, in which Britain was uniformly successful on her own element.

The aspect of affairs, however, was gloomy and dismal. The rapid and enormous increase of the national debt had created an alarm among the proprietors of the public funds; and the bank having advanced immense and extraordinary sums to government, it was found expedient to stop the payment in specie. This strong measure, which necessity alone could justify, caused a great sensation; but it appearing that the bank had still a great surplus property, confidence was restored; and the notes of the bank passed as freely as ever, though the prohibition of payment in cash was ordered to be continued.

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Scarcely had the public alarm from the bank subsided, when other dangers occasioned equal dread and consternation. A serious mutiny broke out among the seamen of the channel fleet lying at Spithead; but on obtaining an increase of pay, which the circumstances of the times and their own merits rendered necessary, order and discipline were speedily re-established.

It was hoped, that the concessions of government would have prevented any fresh insurrection; but a mutiny broke out at the Nore, much more outrageous and full of danger. New and extravagant demands were dictated to the Admiralty, delegates were chosen to conduct the meeting, and one Richard Parker was appointed admiral of the mutinous fleet. The firmness of government, however, and the enactment of two bills, denouncing death against all who should seduce any of his majesty's seamen from their duty, or hold any communication with ships in a state of mutiny, at length overawed those misguided men. The red flag of mutiny was struck; and many of the ring leaders, among whom was Parker, suffered deserved punishment.

To these disgraceful proceedings in the channel, the successful bravery of our seamen against the enemy forms a striking contrast. Admiral sir John Jervis, commanding

fifteen sail of the line, fell in with a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail off Cape St. Vincent; and, after an engagement of five hours, in which the great superiority of British tactics, skill, and bravery, was displayed, captured four of the number. The honour of a peerage was deservedly bestowed on the gallant admiral, with the title of earl St. Vincent, in allusion to the scene of this glorious achievement.

After this victory, rear-admiral Nelson, who had particularly distinguished himself in the action, was sent with a flotilla to make a nocturnal attack on the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe. This attempt, however, was unsuccessful; the gallant admiral lost an arm; and one hundred and fifty men were either killed or wounded in the assault.

Admiral Duncan, who had long been engaged in blocking up the Dutch fleet in the Texel, having ^{A. D.} 1797 returned to England to refit, the enemy ventured to sea. Duncan hastily returning, disposed his squadron in such a manner as to prevent the Dutch from escaping without a conflict. The action was extremely obstinate; but, at last, nine of the largest ships, and two admirals, were the trophies of British prowess. For this service, the gallant admiral was raised to a peerage, by the style and title of lord viscount Duncan, of Camperdown, off which place this victory was achieved.

Meanwhile, the British government attempted to renew the negotiation for peace; and lord Malmesbury was again commissioned to proceed to Lisle; but the French requiring that England should restore all the possessions which had been taken from France, Spain, and Holland, without offering any compensation on the part of those powers, the British plenipotentiary found it necessary to return.

About this time, however, the Austrians being completely discomfited in Italy, the emperor was induced to sign a definitive treaty with the French republic, at Campo Formio; and thus Great Britain was left singly to combat with an enemy, strengthened by a large accession of territory and population, after all the other powers had been successively withdrawn, or intimidated from our alliance.

Ireland, which had long been agitated by foreign and domestic enemies, became this year the scene ^{A. D.} 1798 of an unnatural rebellion. The United Irishmen,

who had formed a conspiracy against government, being disappointed in their expectations of receiving assistance from France, prepared for an extensive insurrection, without waiting for a co-operation from the continent. Stimulated by some persons of rank and consequence among them, they were guilty of the most savage atrocities; and a few of the principal traitors being themselves betrayed, their wretched adherents, finding concealment no longer possible, broke out into open rebellion.

It would be painful to enter into the details of the cruelties and murders which were perpetrated in that unhappy country. In this unnatural contest, in which one part of the British empire warred with the rest, numbers of the insurgents fell; while the survivors of the United Irishmen wreaked their vengeance on the unhappy prisoners that fell into their hands.

At last earl Camden was recalled, and the marquis Cornwallis, who, to the highest personal character united splendid military talents, was appointed to the vice-royalty of Ireland. By offering pardon to all, except to the leaders in the rebellion, he prevailed on the greatest part of the insurgents to surrender their arms, and take the oath of allegiance to his majesty; and the rest were defeated or awed by the king's troops.

The French, with a small body of forces, endeavoured to revive the rebellion; and, surprising our troops by their sudden appearance, gained a temporary advantage, but were soon overpowered and captured by lord Cornwallis. A French squadron of one ship of the line, and eight frigates, with troops and ammunition on board, destined for Ireland, was taken or dispersed by sir John Borlase Warren; and the whole French equipment, with the exception of two frigates, fell ultimately into the hands of the English.

Meanwhile, Bonaparte had sailed from Toulon with an armament, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, six frigates, and transports, having on board an army of thirty thousand men. Malta capitulated to this armament, by the treachery of some of the chiefs of that island; and steering its course for Egypt, the French debarked their forces in that country, which they speedily overran, notwithstanding the spirited opposition of the Mamelukes.

Admiral Nelson, who had been detached by lord St. Vincent in quest of the enemy, with thirteen sail of the

line and one fifty gun ship, found the French fleet at anchor in the bay of Aboukir. A severe and obstinate engagement ensued; and, after a dreadful conflict, a complete victory rewarded the skill and gallantry of the British admiral, his officers and men. Besides the French flag-ship of 120 guns, one 74 was burnt; one of 80 guns, and seven of 74, were captured; two ships of the line and two frigates escaped by flight, but were soon after taken. If Bonaparte had not possessed great talents and a fertile genius, this victory, which deprived his army of all communication with Europe, would have completely paralyzed the expedition to Egypt. For this service, the admiral was created lord Nelson of the Nile, and received a pension of two thousand pounds, besides other honours and rewards which were bestowed on him by some of the sovereigns of Europe.

The grand seignior now declared war against France; and Paul, the new emperor of Russia, in whose character passion and frivolity were chiefly predominant, displayed his detestation of French principles, and was subsidised by England. The emperor of Germany also joined the confederacy against France; and the republic had again to contend with another powerful alliance.

Meanwhile, the assessed taxes not having proved so productive as had been expected, the minister had recourse to a tax on income, requiring one tenth on all incomes exceeding two hundred pounds a year.

A measure, however, which will immortalize the memory of the premier, and deserve the lasting gratitude of both countries, was his projected union with Ireland; which, after being canvassed with great attention in England, and violently opposed in Ireland, was at last carried into effect, on principles peculiarly favourable to the real interests of the latter country.

The arms of Russia speedily gave a new turn to the war in Italy; the English recovered Naples for its former sovereign; and sir Sidney Smith, by his bravery and able conduct, repelled an invasion of Syria, headed by Bonaparte himself.

The perfidy and duplicity of Tippoo Saib having occasioned a new war in India, general Harris, with equal success and ability, made himself master of Seringapatam, in storming which the tyrant of the

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1798

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1799

Mysore fell in action, and with him the empire which had been established by his father Hyder Ally. The greater part of his dominions were seized by the East India Company, and his family were sent to Calcutta.

While the allies were engaged in endeavouring to make an impression upon France, Great Britain undertook an expedition to detach the Batavian republic from its connexion with the French; and a powerful armament was sent to Holland, under the command of the duke of York.

On the 27th of August, sir Ralph Abercrombie, with the British and Russian troops, landed at the Helder, and defeated the forces opposed to them, after a short and sharp conflict. Soon after, however, the duke of York assuming the command, the enemy having assembled in great force, and the season being too far advanced to suffer them to continue in the field, in a hostile country, the English were obliged to abandon the enterprise with great loss.

Meanwhile, Bonaparte left the army which he commanded in Egypt, and embarking in an armed vessel, reached France in safety. The divisions and intrigues in the French directory, aided by the popularity which he had acquired, enabled him to seize the reins of government; and dissolving the council of five hundred, he established a new constitution, the executive part of which was vested in himself as first consul, with two subordinate consuls as his colleagues.

On his accession to the consular government, Bonaparte addressed a letter to the king of Great Britain, and requested his majesty to concur with him in restoring peace to the world; but these overtures being rejected, under the plea that his continuance in power might be as unstable as his predecessors, he prepared to carry on the war with vigour. At Marengo, he gave the Austrians a most signal defeat, and obliged the emperor to conclude the treaty of Luneville. Malta having submitted to the arms of England, after a blockade of two years, the French entered into a treaty for evacuating Egypt; but the British government unhappily refusing to ratify this convention, which had been formed under the auspices of Sir Sidney Smith, the French general in that country recommenced hostilities; and in order to expel the enemy from that province, without which our India possessions could not have been secure, sir Ralph Aber-

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crombie was sent into Egypt with a powerful army. On the 21st of March, 1801, that gallant veteran defeated the French general, Menou, with great loss, but was mortally wounded in the action, and died a few days after, equally beloved and revered for his private virtues as for his military talents. General Hutchinson, who succeeded to the command, completed the reduction of Egypt.

Meanwhile, as the union between Great Britain and Ireland had been fixed by the legislature to commence and be in force from the first day of the nineteenth century, the imperial parliament of both islands met at Westminster, on the 22d of January. The emperor of Russia had not only withdrawn himself from the confederacy against France, but listening to the counsels of Bonaparte, had stimulated Denmark and Sweden to enter into an armed neutrality against this country. When all Europe was thus combined against Britain, and almost every port shut against us, Mr. Pitt and his principal coadjutors resigned their situations. The minister, apprehending, as has been supposed, that his continuance in office might prove an impediment to the restoration of peace, or considering, as is more probable, and has been asserted, that his pledge to the catholics at the time of the union, required either the fulfilment of his promise or the sacrifice of his place, relinquished all his employments. Mr. Addington, speaker of the house of commons, was appointed first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state for the foreign department; and earl St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty.

The king of Prussia earnestly promoted the northern confederacy, and sent an army into Hanover; but a British fleet, under admirals sir Hyde Parker and lord Nelson, being despatched to open the Baltic, an engagement took place at Copenhagen, which had been strongly fortified, when the result was a complete victory on the part of the English, chiefly obtained by the intrepid conduct of lord Nelson. After this bloody battle, an armistice was agreed on; and the emperor Paul being succeeded by his son Alexander, the northern confederacy was dissolved, and peace was restored between England and the nations of which it was composed.

The chief difficulty in regard to a pacification with

France, being removed by the evacuation of Egypt by the French, preliminaries of peace were signed on the first of October, to the unbounded joy of the united kingdom. The

A. D. 1802 terms, however, were far from giving universal satisfaction; and many saw in them the seeds of a new war at no great distance; but, after various delays and difficulties, a definitive treaty was signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March following. By this treaty, Great Britain restored to France and her allies every possession or colony which she had taken from them during the war, except the Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch settlement of Ceylon. Egypt was to be restored to the Porte; and the integrity of the Turkish empire was guarantied. The French were to evacuate the territories of Naples and of Rome. Malta was to be restored to its own order of knights.

It was soon, however, evident that the treaty of Amiens would not be productive of any long period of tranquility. The restless ambition of Bonaparte, which, whilst it could not suffer neighbouring nations to repose in peace and security, was at last fatal to himself. No man, either of ancient or modern times, can be compared with this extraordinary person, who, as if regarding Europe as too confined a theatre for his ambition, grasped at the dominion of the whole world, and whose unparalleled life seems to resemble a fiction and romance, rather than a history of real actions.

His assumption of the presidency of the Italian republic, and the convention which he had formed with Spain, were objects of jealousy to the British government; but the subjugation of Switzerland was a wanton aggression, which excited indignation in the breast of every friend of liberty; and the aims at dominion which were every where visible, withheld the English ministry from surrendering Malta unconditionally. This produced a rupture between the two countries, and war was proclaimed by Great Britain against France, on the 18th of May.

One of the first measures of Bonaparte, after the renewal of hostilities, was to seize on the electorate of Hanover; but the invasion of England appeared at this time the principal object which occupied his attention. A flotilla was prepared for conveying the military herds of France to the British shores; extensive camps were formed in the

vicinity of the harbours ; and the troops were kept in constant readiness for embarkation. Such, however, were the exertions made to receive the boasted invaders of England, that volunteer associations were every where formed ; men of all ranks and professions, animated with one common feeling of indignation, devoted a great portion of their time to preparations for the defence of their country ; and the whole kingdom presented the appearance of one wide tented field.

The regular military force of Great Britain was also augmented beyond all former precedent, and stationed in different parts of the kingdom ; while our fleets blockaded the enemy's ports, and confined their squadrons and flotillas within the protection of their own batteries.

Meanwhile, a new insurrection broke out in Dublin, which occasioned some alarm, but which was speedily repressed ; but lord Kilwarden, and his nephew Mr. Wolfe, unfortunately passing at the time, were dragged out of their carriage by the insurgents, and barbarously put to death.

This year, the French government transferred Louisiana to the United States of America, for the sum of fifteen millions of dollars.

The majorities on the side of ministers being greatly reduced, by the opposition of Mr. Pitt, who had hitherto supported the administration, Mr. Ad-^{A. D.} dington resigned the office of chancellor of the ex-¹⁸⁰⁴ chequer and first lord of the treasury, and was succeeded by Mr. Pitt. At the same time, the duke of Portland was appointed president of the council ; and lord Eldon lord chancellor.

Various attempts against the enemy's flotilla on their own coasts were unsuccessful. The most considerable of this kind, was an undertaking by lord Keith, with a fleet of men of war and other ships, to destroy about one hundred and fifty French vessels moored on the outside of Boulogne pier. The instruments chiefly depended on for this purpose, were certain exploding vessels, called catamarans, which, however, entirely disappointed the expectations that had been formed.

Though Spain had not declared war against Britain, yet the English government considered that power as wholly under the control of Bonaparte ; and a British

squadron was, therefore, sent to intercept the Spanish frigates which conveyed specie from America to Cadiz. An engagement ensued, in which one of the Spanish vessels blew up; and the rest, with the treasure, fell into the hands of the English; but this act of the British government can scarcely be considered otherwise than as a violation of the law of nations.

The aggressions of Bonaparte in Germany and Italy, provoked another coalition among the European powers; and the "mighty army of England," which was said to be intended for the invasion of this country, and which had remained nearly two years stationary and inactive, was withdrawn from the shores of the channel; but the fatal battle of Austerlitz destroyed the hopes of Russia and Austria, and compelled the latter power to accept such terms of accommodation as France thought fit to dictate.

Meanwhile, Goree, which had been taken by the French, was recaptured; and the Dutch settlement of Surinam capitulated to a force under the command of sir Charles Green and commodore Hood. Bonaparte, on whom the people of France had conferred the rank and title of emperor of the French, made an overture to the king, in which he expressed a wish for peace, and deprecated the continuance of hostilities as tending to a useless effusion of blood. The reply of the British government declared, that the king, though ardently desirous of peace, was convinced that this object could be attained only by arrangements which should provide for the future safety and tranquility of Europe, and, in consequence, till he had communicated with the continental powers with whom he was engaged in confidential relations, he felt it impossible to give a more particular answer to the overture.

The misfortunes of our allies on the continent were in some degree compensated by the brilliant success which attended the fleets of Great Britain. A fleet of twelve French, and six Spanish ships of the line, had sailed for the West Indies, under the command of admiral Ville-neuve; and lord Nelson, with only eleven sail of the line, pursued the French admiral, who, terrified by the intelligence of his approach, hastened back to Europe, and, near cape Finisterre, was encountered by sir Robert Calder, who took two of his large ships.

Soon after, the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to thirty-three sail of the line, again sailed under the same admiral, with the intention of giving battle to lord Nelson. The British admiral, however, had been re-enforced with seven ships, which augmented his fleet to the number of twenty-seven sail of the line. On the 21st of October, lord Nelson, to his great joy, descried the mighty armament of the enemy, about seven miles east of cape Trafalgar. The last memorable signal of the British admiral, "England expects every man to do his duty," was received with acclamations from the whole fleet. About noon the dreadful contest began, by the leading ships of the British column breaking through the enemy's line. In this bloody battle, lord Nelson was mortally wounded by a musket-ball, fired from the shrouds of the Redoubtable, to which the admiral's ship, the Victory, was opposed, after having compelled Villeneuve to strike his flag on board the Bucentaur. The British hero, however, did not close his eyes in death till he had received assurance of a decisive victory, when, faintly smiling, he exclaimed, "God be praised!" and expired. In this engagement, nineteen of the enemy's ships were captured by the English. The patriotic hero, by whom this victory had been achieved, was interred in the most magnificent manner, at the public expense; the title of earl Nelson was conferred on his brother, with a suitable income; and monuments to the memory of him who had been the pride and the glory of his country, arose in all the principal towns of the empire.

Meanwhile, the arms of Britain were crowned with new triumphs in India, where sir Arthur Wellesley, now duke of Wellington, defeated Scindiah, a powerful Mahratta chieftain, and obliged him to cede a large tract of country to the British; and, before the close of the year 1805, a peace was concluded with Holkar, another Mahratta chief, who was also deprived of a very considerable extent of territory.

France and Prussia concluded a treaty, by which Hanover was transferred to the latter power; and Frederic William occupied nearly the whole of that electorate, the property of his old ally, with his troops.

The total failure of the continental coalition greatly augmented the gloom which prevailed in England, in conse-

quence of the alarming illness of Mr. Pitt. This distinguished statesman, whose infirm state of health had been increased by anxiety and disappointment, expired on the 23d of January, after having directed the affairs of this country for a longer period than any former minister. Under his auspices, the maritime supremacy of England was confirmed by a series of most splendid victories; but the public burdens were enormously augmented. He laboured successfully to preserve Great Britain from the contagion of revolutionary principles; and he exerted himself with equal zeal, but with less success, to resist the military despotism by which France threatened to subjugate the continent. In short, he was a statesman of great ability and strength of mind, who rendered momentous services to his country; and it must be allowed, that never was the force of the British character tried by greater dangers, or graced by more splendid achievements, than under the administration of William Pitt.

On the death of this distinguished and disinterested statesman, lord Grenville was appointed first lord of the treasury; Mr. Fox, secretary of state for foreign affairs; lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer; and Mr. Windham, secretary of state for the department of war and the colonies.

About ten days after these appointments, a negotiation took place with France, which was no less singular in its commencement than fruitless in its result. A Frenchman, calling himself Gevriiliere, disclosed to Mr. Fox a plan for the assassination of Bonaparte; but that minister dismissed the wretch with indignation, and informed the French government of the meditated crime. This extorted from Bonaparte a well merited compliment to the honour and generosity of Mr. Fox; and a negotiation for peace between the two countries commenced; but, after being continued for a considerable length of time, the continental policy of France prevented a satisfactory issue.

One of the first measures of the new ministers was an increase on the income-tax, which, already odious and oppressive, was raised from five to ten per cent. on all incomes exceeding fifty pounds.

In the house of commons, Mr. Fox moved a resolution, which was carried into effect, and which may be said to

have closed the parliamentary career of that great statesman. This resolution proposed to take effectual measures for abolishing the Slave Trade; and an address from both houses was carried to the king, beseeching him to obtain by negotiation the concurrence of foreign powers in the abolition of the iniquitous traffic.

The Cape of Good Hope again surrendered to the British; but an attempt on Spanish South America, though at first successful, finally proved abortive. In Italy, however, the British arms were triumphant, and sir John Stuart defeated at Maida a French army under general Regnier, with great loss; but this brilliant victory, which was achieved with a comparatively small force, produced no permanent change in the state of the kingdom of Naples, though it preserved Sicily from invasion. Naples had been seized on by the French emperor, and Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed king of that country.

The emperor Napoleon carried into effect a scheme for subverting the ancient constitution of the German empire, by establishing what is called the confederation of the Rhine. The members of this confederation were the emperor of the French, the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and several other German princes. Separating themselves from the Germanic empire, these princes chose Bonaparte for their protector, and established a federal alliance, by which they engaged to furnish a certain contingent of troops, in case of a continental war. Conformably to an arrangement with Napoleon, Francis resigned his office and title of emperor of Germany, and annexed his German provinces to the empire of Austria.

On the 13th of September died that illustrious statesman and friend to the human race, Charles James Fox, whose last moments were embittered, by finding that the ambition of Bonaparte deprived him of the pleasure dearest to his heart—that of terminating the sufferings of distracted Europe, and restoring to his country the blessings of peace. As a senator, Mr. Fox was distinguished alike for the comprehensiveness of his views, the liberality of his principles, and the persuasive and convincing power of his eloquence; as a minister, he displayed in the management of public affairs the same noble simplicity which characterized his conduct in private life; and, as a man, his great and amiable qualities acquired

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him the cordial affection of his friends, and the generous admiration of his adversaries.

On the death of this lamented statesman, lord Howick was appointed secretary of foreign affairs, and Mr. Thomas Grenville became first lord of the admiralty.

The fate of Prussia proved the danger to which all the old governments were exposed. After Napoleon was engaged in hostilities with Great Britain and Sweden, he rendered himself formidable to all Europe, by the promptness and energy of his conduct. Frederic William discovered that the French emperor, who had guaranteed to him the possession of Hanover, was offering the restoration of that electorate as the basis of negotiation with the English court. Indignant at the danger of losing this acquisition, he resolved to try the hazard of war ; and, after successive actions, in which the Prussians were uniformly defeated, a tremendous conflict took place on the 14th of October, in the plains between Weimar and Auerstadt. The issue of

A. D. 1806 this engagement, in which Frederic William suffered a total defeat, laid Prussia at the mercy of Bonaparte, who took possession of Berlin, and completely subjugated that country. Between the French and Russian armies a series of bloody contests also took place, in which the former were uniformly victorious ; and, at length, peace was signed at Tilsit by the emperors of France and Russia.

Napoleon now controlled the whole of the continent. His brother Louis was created king of Holland ; his brother Joseph, king of Naples ; and his brother Jerome was in person created king of Westphalia, with territories ceded by Prussia and other neighbouring states. Napoleon himself was not only emperor of France, but also king of Italy ; and Spain was entirely subservient to the policy of that ambitious and daring, though able ruler.

Whilst at Berlin, Bonaparte issued a decree, interdicting all commerce and correspondence between the countries under his control and the British Islands, which he declared to be in a state of blockade.

The well known reluctance of the king to extend the privileges of the catholics, did not prevent lord Grenville and his associates from introducing a bill into parliament, for the purpose of empowering persons of that persuasion to fill the highest offices in the army and navy. The king

expressed his decided objection to this measure, and demanded from his ministers a written pledge, that they would never again bring forward any proposal connected with the catholic question. As the ministers could not assent to this, they resigned their situations, and a new administration was formed. The duke of Portland was appointed first lord of the treasury; Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer; lord Eldon, lord chancellor; lord Liverpool, secretary for the home department; and Mr. Canning, secretary for foreign affairs.

A new parliament was assembled, which fully established the strength of the new ministers; and the first important measure was a plan for increasing the regular army from the militia, and supplying the deficiencies arising from such a transfer, by a supplementary militia. In the beginning of this year, the island of Curacao surrendered to the English.

A confederacy of the northern powers against Britain being now apprehended, the ministers sent a powerful armament against Denmark, which was compelled to surrender her fleet to the English, after the bombardment of her capital. This measure justly excited the indignation of Europe, and gave to the enemies of Great Britain a plausible pretext for their hostility.

In consequence of the decree of Bonaparte from Berlin, the English ministers issued orders, subjecting all ports and places in Europe, from which the British flag was excluded, and all those in the colonies of his majesty's enemies, to the restrictions consequent on actual blockade, declaring all trade in the produce or manufactures of such countries or colonies to be unlawful, and authorizing the capture of all vessels engaged in that trade. To these orders Bonaparte published a rejoinder at Milan, in which he decreed, that all ships which should be searched by a British vessel, or should pay any tax to the English government, were denationalized, and might be lawfully captured wherever found.

These conflicting regulations respecting the trade of neutrals, occasioned an act in the American congress, imposing a strict embargo on all vessels belonging to the American states, and commanding all foreign ships to quit the harbours of the United States.

The designs of Bonaparte against Spain became daily

more manifest ; and a treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau for the partition of Portugal. A French army was already on its march to Lisbon, when the Portuguese fleet

Nov. set sail from the Tagus, with the prince regent and
29, the whole royal family on board, and proceeded to
1807 Rio de Janeiro, escorted by an English squadron.

The French army under Junot, already on the heights above Lisbon, took possession of that capital, and subjected the inhabitants to military law.

Madeira was placed under the protection of the English ; and the Danish islands in the West Indies, St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, surrendered to a British squadron under sir Alexander Cochrane.

The French had obtained possession of the principal fortresses in Spain ; and the approach of Murat, with a powerful army, to the capital, increased the alarm of the Spanish people. Charles IV. abdicated the crown in favour of his son, the prince of the Asturias, who commenced his reign under the title of *Ferdinand the Seventh*; but this arrangement *did not suit* the policy of France, and, the father and son quarrelling, Charles transferred to Napoleon the sovereignty of Spain, who, having persuaded Ferdinand to meet him at Bayonne, compelled him to renounce the crown in favour of his family. Charles, his queen, and Godoy, prince of peace, retired to Rome ;

and Joseph Bonaparte was installed king of Spain
A. D. and the Indies ; while Joachim Murat, the brother-in-law of the French emperor, was made king
1808 of Naples.

These transactions, however, did not take place without causing great commotions and much effusion of blood in Spain ; and the Spanish people, exasperated by the cruelties committed by the French in that country, declared war against France, and sent deputies to implore the assistance of England. This request was readily granted, and a force of ten thousand men sailed to Corunna, under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley ; but on communicating with the Spanish leaders in that district, it was determined to proceed to Portugal, where the troops were disembarked in Mondego bay. Junot, collecting his whole force, attacked the British army in a strong position at Vimiera ; but, after an obstinate contest, the French were defeated with the loss of between three and four thousand

men. Sir Hugh Dalrymple, who arrived from Gibraltar to assume the command of the British army, concluded a disgraceful convention at Cintra, by which the French troops were sent to France, at the expense of the English government, without being considered as prisoners of war.

The command of the British army in Portugal devolved on sir John Moore, who arrived with a reinforcement of twelve thousand men. That officer had been intrusted with an expedition for the assistance of Sweden, against which war had been declared by Russia, Prussia, and Denmark; but through the capricious and violent conduct of the Swedish monarch, he had been constrained to return without landing his troops.

Meanwhile, the disasters which befel the French armies in Spain, intimidated Joseph Bonaparte, who, after a residence of ten days in Madrid, decamped from that capital, taking with him the regalia and crown jewels, and some other valuables from the palaces and treasury. On this occasion, the Spaniards contemptuously observed, that "Joseph had put into his pocket, the crown which he durst not wear upon his head."

The French emperor, indignant at the conduct of the Spaniards, and the discomfiture of his armies, announced to his legislative body, that, placing himself at the head of his troops, he would crown his brother at Madrid, and plant his eagles on the fortresses of Portugal. Accordingly, a large and overwhelming force entered Spain; and the undisciplined troops of that country were easily defeated by the hosts of French veterans, commanded by the most able generals, and animated by the the presence of Napoleon.

By the representations and remonstrances of Mr. Frere, the English minister at Madrid, sir John Moore had been urged to direct his march to that capital; but hearing that Madrid had surrendered to the French, and that Napoleon was marching against him with a great body of forces, the English general found himself compelled to retreat. The distresses which the British army suffered in this retreat were dreadful. With few intervals of repose which the French forces allowed them, they traversed two hundred and fifty miles in a mountainous country, in the middle of a severe winter, and by roads almost impassable. At length, after a most painful and harassing

retreat, in which they lost several thousand men, the British army reached Corunna on the 12th of January; and on the 16th of that month, when the embarkation of the troops was about to commence, they were attacked by the French, under the command of marshal Soult. The British, however, though inferior in number, exhausted by harassing marches, and deprived of their artillery, which had been embarked, repulsed the enemy, and achieved a victory under the most adverse circumstances; but, in this engagement, the English lost their brave commander, who was killed by a cannon ball, and who, in his last moments, expressed a hope that his country would do him justice.

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Sir Arthur Wellesley being again appointed to the command of the army in the peninsula, landed with reinforcements in Portugal. Soult was driven from Oporto; and sir Arthur Wellesley, joined by the Spanish general Cuesta, hastened to meet marshal Victor in the south. The allied army was strongly posted at Talavera, where it was attacked by Victor. An obstinate engagement ensued, in which the French were defeated with the loss of ten thousand men. This victory occasioned great joy in England; and sir Arthur Wellesley was honored with a peerage, by the title of lord viscount Wellington.

After this battle, the enemy collected in great force, under marshals Ney, Soult, and Mortier, and the British army was obliged to retreat into Portugal. In the other districts of Spain, the French arms were triumphant; and, at the close of the campaign, the principal armies of the patriots had been successively defeated and dispersed.

The island of Martinico was taken by the English; and lord Cochrane destroyed or rendered unserviceable ten French ships in Basque roads.

War being again declared between Austria and France, the hostile armies were put in motion; and battles were fought at Abensberg, at Eckmühl, and at Ratisbon, all in favour of the French. In the battle of Asperne, however, Bonaparte was unsuccessful against the archduke Charles; but at Wagram, a short time after, he obtained a decisive victory over the Austrians, and compelled the emperor again to sue for peace, which he granted.

An expedition was fitted out for making a descent on the Dutch island of Zeeland; and an armament, consist

ing of a military force of nearly forty thousand men, under the command of the earl of Chatham, and a fleet of thirty-nine sail of the line, and thirty-six frigates, under the direction of sir Richard Strachan, sailed from England. After a vigorous siege, Flushing was compelled to surrender; but the ulterior objects of this expedition completely failed; and the occupation of the low and marshy islands of Walcherin and South Beveland, proved greatly destructive to the troops, who were seized with a pestilential fever.

The reduction of Zante, and the consequent surrender of the Ionian islands, effected by the joint efforts of lord Collingwood and sir John Stuart, may be reckoned among the more fortunate events of this year.

A partial change of administration took place, in consequence of the resignations of lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, and the duke of Portland. Mr. Perceval united in his own person the offices of first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; the marquis Wellesley was appointed secretary for foreign affairs; and lord Liverpool secretary at war.

The next session of parliament commenced with violent debates on the disastrous expedition to Walcherin; and lord Chatham thought proper to resign his A. D.
1810 office of master general of the ordnance.

In Spain, the cause of independence was still unsuccessful; but Cadiz, which had become the seat of government, being protected by a combined British and Spanish fleet, and occupied by a considerable military force, bade defiance to any attack of the enemy.

Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida fell successively into the hands of the French. At Buzaco, however, the English obtained a victory, but afterwards retired to the strong lines of Torres Vedras; and marshal Massena, the French general, fixed his head quarters at Santarem.

Napoleon divorced the empress Josephine, and married the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter to the emperor of Austria. Europe beheld with astonishment this alliance; which was not less disgraceful to the emperor Francis, than injurious in France to the popularity of Bonaparte.

The sovereignty of Holland was resigned by Louis; and the Seven United States were annexed to the French empire. In Sweden, the states elected the French marshal Bernadotte, crown prince of that country.

In the West Indies, the English took the island of Guadaloupe; and in the Indian ocean, the French islands of Bourbon and the Mauritius. They also took Amboyna from the Dutch.

In consequence of the return of the king's malady, the prince of Wales was appointed regent, subject to all the restrictions which, on a former occasion, had been
 A. D. 1811 proposed by Mr. Pitt. On the 6th of February, his royal highness was installed as regent; and he declared his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he found his majesty's official servants, lest any act of his might interfere with his royal father's recovery.

The commercial distress of the nation necessarily demanded the attention of parliament; and a bill was passed empowering the treasury to issue exchequer bills to the amount of six millions sterling, the same to be reimbursed in three quarterly instalments; but the effects of this bill were less beneficial than had been expected. The legislature also passed a bill, for preventing the current gold coin from being paid for a greater value than its current value, for preventing bank of England notes from being received at a value inferior to that which they represented, and for staying proceedings in any distress by the tender of such notes.

The difficulty of obtaining the necessary supplies of provisions in a desolated country, and at such a distance from his resources, compelled Massena to quit his strong camp at Santarem. He was closely pursued by lord Wellington, who found means to force part of his army into occasional actions, in which great numbers of the French were killed or taken prisoners. In order to relieve Almeida, which lord Wellington had invested, Massena attacked the British army, but was repulsed, and obliged to retire to Salamanca.

Lieutenant-general Graham defeated the French at Barosa, where the enemy lost an eagle, six pieces of cannon, and upwards of three thousand men, in killed, wounded and prisoners. Marshal Beresford, who was investing Badajoz, which the Spanish governor had pusillanimously surrendered to the enemy, defeated the French under Marshal Soult, in the battle of Albuera, in which

the enemy lost about eight thousand men in killed and wounded.

In the east of Spain, the French arms were triumphant. Tarragona, reduced after an obstinate defence, suffered every cruelty which could be inflicted by the conquerors. The Dutch island of Batavia, in the East Indies, surrendered to an English force under sir Samuel Auchmuty.

The affairs of Great Britain were now approaching to a crisis. The contest in Spain was still doubtful; a dispute existed with America, in regard to the orders in council, and threatened an open rupture with that country; and France was preparing for the subjugation of Russia, which refused to comply with the treaty of Tilsit by excluding the British from all commerce with the continent, a mightier armament than had ever been collected in Europe. At home, the decline of trade produced severe distress among the people; and a spirit of discontent and insubordination manifested itself in several of the manufacturing districts.

The parliament passed two bills, by one of which the crime of frame breaking was made a capital offence; and by the other, additional powers were given to magistrates for a limited time, for the purpose of preserving the public peace in the disturbed counties.

On the 11th of May, as Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the house of commons, he was shot by a person of the name of Bellingham, and died almost immediately. This man professed to have sustained injuries from the Russian government, which the British ministers being unable to redress, he determined to put one of them to death, that his case might be brought before a court of justice. The murderer made no attempt to palliate his crime, which he expiated with his life. Ample provision was made by parliament for the widow and children of Mr. Perceval; and men of all parties lamented his untimely fate, and bore testimony to his upright and amiable character.

After much delay, a new administration was formed, in which lord Liverpool was appointed first lord of the treasury, lord Sidmouth (formerly Mr. Addington) secretary of state for the home department, and Mr. Vansittart chancellor of the exchequer.

One of the first acts of the present government was a

revocation of the orders in council, as far as regarded American property ; but before intelligence of this repeal could be received in America, the United States had declared war against Great Britain. The republicans commenced hostilities by an irruption into Upper Canada, but were defeated, and obliged to surrender to the British. For their disgraces by land, however, the Americans received some compensation by their successes at sea.

In the peninsular war, the French arms were triumphant in the east of Spain ; but in the west, they suffered great reverses. Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz fell into the hands of the allies ; and so important did the capture of the former place appear to the Spaniards, that the Cortes conferred on lord Wellington the rank of a grandee, with the title of duke of Ciudad Rodrigo.

Marshal Marmont, who had assumed the command of the French army, was completely defeated by lord Wellington at Salamanca. This was the greatest victory that the English general had yet achieved, and sufficiently showed that the military talents of his lordship were superior to those of his adversary, who was one of the most distinguished of the French marshals. The effects

A. D.
1812 of this victory were felt in different parts of Spain. Astorga capitulated, the blockade of Cadiz was raised, Bilboa evacuated, and Seville recovered. Lord Wellington advanced, and laid siege to Burgos ; but failing in his attempt to take it, and the French army, which had been reinforced, threatening the allies, his lordship retreated, and established his head-quarters at Freynada, on the Portuguese frontier. In admiration of his talents and achievements, the cortes invested him with the authority of commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies.

Napoleon's enterprise against Russia, which, in the boldness of its object, as well as the magnificent scale on which it was conducted, surpassed every expedition undertaken by any European power, threatened the conquest of that mighty empire. The French force employed

A. D.
1812 in this undertaking, has been estimated at four hundred thousand effective men. On the 24th of June, Napoleon, with his formidable army, passed the Niemen, and entered the Russian territory. The plan of his adversaries was, to resist the progress of the invader without risking a general engagement, to lay waste

the country through which he should aim to penetrate, and to harass him as he advanced, and cut off his supplies. Bonaparte attacked the main Russian army at Smolensko, which the Russians despairing of retaining, they retreated; but the invaders, on their entrance, found the city burning and in ruins. The conqueror now hastened towards Moscow, of which, after the sanguinary battle of Borodino, he obtained possession.

On the entrance of the French emperor into that devoted place, which the invaders had fondly hoped would have afforded some repose for their toils, the city was found on fire; and a violent wind arising soon after, the conflagration became general, and the whole extent of that ancient capital, for many miles, appeared like a sea of flame. Two thirds of the city were destroyed.

Napoleon was now in the greatest difficulty. His stores were exhausted, and his supplies intercepted by the Russian armies; and his soldiers, dispirited and discontented, were enfeebled by the fatigue and distress to which they had been exposed. A retreat was now inevitable. The horrors of this retreat, or rather flight, exceed the powers of description. The route of the army might be traced, in many places, by the dead bodies of those who perished from cold, hunger, or fatigue; and of the numerous hosts that composed the invading army, not more than fifty thousand men recrossed the Russian boundary.

The new parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled under happier auspices than the most sanguine politician could have ventured to anticipate. The session was opened by the prince regent, who expressed his firm reliance on the determination of parliament to continue every aid in support of a contest, which had first given to the continent of Europe the example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France. A grant of one hundred thousand pounds was voted to lord Wellington, and another of two hundred thousand pounds for the relief of the sufferers in Russia. A bill was passed, by which the East India Company was to continue in possession of all its former territories in India, with the later acquisitions, continental and insular, to the north of the equator, for the further term of twenty years from the 20th of April, 1814. The exclusive right of a commercial intercourse with China, and of the trade in tea, was preserv-

ed to the company ; but his majesty's subjects in general were permitted to trade to and from all ports within the limits of the company's charter, under certain provisions.

One of the first effects of the late Russian campaign, was to rouse the other powers of Europe from their state of subjection to the dominion of France. Prussia

A. D. 1813 united her arms to those of Russia ; and Austria did not long delay to follow the example. Sweden, subsidised by Great Britain, joined the allies. The battle of Leipsic was completely decisive against the French ; and the Dutch, availing themselves of this opportunity of throwing off the galling yoke of France, recalled from his long exile the prince of Orange, who entered the Hague amidst the acclamations of the people. The influence of Bonaparte in Germany was now nearly annihilated ; and the complete deliverance of Europe from the yoke of France seemed no longer doubtful.

The disasters of their countrymen in Germany paralyzed the efforts of the French in Spain. The skill and activity of lord Wellington prevented them from securing the line of the Douro ; and, at Vittoria, he completely defeated the French, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, under whom marshal Jourdan acted as major-general. After suffering this defeat, the French retired by Pampeluna, and pursued their retreat over the Pyrennes into France. Joseph Bonaparte fled in confusion, and thus terminated his possession of the Spanish monarchy.

In the east of Spain, the success of the allies was less flattering ; and sir John Murray, who had landed an army of fifteen thousand men from Sicily, attempted the siege of Tarragona ; but, though the town had been partly dismantled, and was feebly garrisoned, the British general, on the report of Suchet's approach from Valencia, hastily abandoned the siege, and left his cannon in the batteries.

Early in January, the allied armies in Germany passed the Rhine, and entered France at different points. For some time, Napoleon appeared irresolute ; but when the invaders had reached Champagne, he became con-

A. D. 1814 vinced of the necessity of acting with vigour. At Brienne, he attacked marshal Blucher, whom he compelled to retreat ; but at La Rothiere, he was obliged to retire in his turn. The allies now advanced to Troyes, which was entered by the prince of Wurtemberg ; Chalons

Napoleon conveyed to St. Helena.

The three Sovereigns in Hyde Park.

on the Marne was evacuated by Macdonald ; and Chalons on the Saone was taken by the Austrians. Bonaparte, on the verge of ruin, made the most surprising and energetic efforts for his recovery. Unable to oppose an adequate resistance to the allied armies in every quarter, he determined to concentrate his forces, and by bearing vigorously on particular points, to aim at destroying their communication with each other. In pursuance of this plan, he attacked the Prussian army under Blucher, and compelled him to retreat to Chalons on the Marne. He next directed his attention to prince Schwartzemberg, who had been advanced on Paris, by way of the Seine, and forced him to retire.

During these transactions, negotiations for peace were carried on at Chatillon. The British envoys were the earl of Aberdeen and lord Cathcart, under the direction of lord Castlereagh ; Caulaincourt was the representative of Napoleon ; and plenipotentiaries were also appointed by the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian courts. The ultimatum of Bonaparte, however, to maintain the integrity of the French empire, were deemed inconsistent with the balance of power in Europe, and on that account the conferences terminated.

In the mean time, the marquis of Wellington, after crossing the Bidassoa, gradually proceeded in the south of France. His army forced the passage of the Gave de Pau at Orthes, and next day crossed the Adour. A division under marshal Beresford entered Bordeaux, which declared for the Bourbons, and the chief inhabitants welcomed the British troops as deliverers. Soult was defeated by the marquis of Wellington at Tarbes, and afterwards at Toulouse.

The allied armies in the north of France continued to advance, and, notwithstanding the extraordinary exertions and abilities displayed by Napoleon, they succeeded, by a convention entered into with marshal Marmont, in obtaining possession of the city of Paris. A special senate appointed a provisional government, which declared, that Napoleon Bonaparte had violated the compact which united him to the French people, and had thereby forfeited his right to the throne of France.

Under these circumstances, on the 4th of April a treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau, by which Bonaparte, on

certain conditions, abdicated, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy. The isle of Elba was
A. D. 1814 to be possessed by him in full sovereignty, and an annual revenue of two millions of francs, charged on the great book of France; and to his consort, Maria Louisa, were assigned the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. On the 20th of the same month, Napoleon began his journey to the isle of Elba, accompanied by four commissioners from the allied powers.

Louis XVIII. embarked at Dover, and was joyfully welcomed at Calais; but in the capital, the acclamations of the loyal people produced no response from the soldiery. One of the first acts of Louis was to issue a declaration forming the basis of the constitutional charter, by which the liberties of the French nation were to be secured.

Peace was concluded between France and the allied powers, Austria, Russia, Great Britain and Prussia. By this treaty, the continental dominions of France were, generally speaking, restricted to the limits which bounded them on the 1st of January, 1792. Her colonies, with a few exceptions, were restored. England retained Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, and the small island of Heligoland, besides some islands in the east and West Indies.

In the beginning of June, the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia visited England, attended by marshal Blücher, the Hetman Platoff, and other distinguished officers. The visit of these illustrious strangers was celebrated in London, and other parts of the kingdom, with extraordinary rejoicing and festivity.

The duke of Wellington's return was hailed with no less joy than the arrival of the allied sovereigns. On his taking his seat for the first time in the house of lords, his various patents of honour, as baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke, were successively recited; and the thanks of the house, which had been voted the evening before, were addressed to him by the lord chancellor. To support these high honours, the sum of three hundred thousand pounds was voted for the purchase of a palace and domain suitable to his dignity. Proportionate honours and emoluments were assigned to his gallant companions in arms; and generals Graham, Hill, and Beresford, were raised to the peerage.

While peace was thus happily restored to Europe, the

war between Great Britain and the United States of America still raged with much animosity, devastation, and bloodshed. At length, however, on the 24th of December, a treaty of pacification was effected between the two countries at Ghent; and for the first time, after the period of a quarter of a century, with the exception of the feverish truce of Amiens, a general peace prevailed in both hemispheres, and for the present the temple of Janus was closed. A. D. 1814

The return of Bonaparte from Elba created a strong feeling throughout Europe. This extraordinary man landed in the south of France, with a few followers, on the first of March, and was every where received with extravagant joy. On the 20th of the same month, Louis XVIII. fled from Paris, and on the evening of the same day, Napoleon entered that capital, and resumed the government. A. D. 1815

His first attempt was to conciliate the allies, to whom he proposed to maintain the peace which had been concluded with Louis at Paris; but the allies rejected the proposition, and began immediately to put their armies in motion, with the avowed design of once more displacing him, and restoring the Bourbons. The English and Prussians were first assembled in the Netherlands under Wellington and Blucher; and Napoleon, at the head of 150,000 men, advanced against them, on the 12th of June. At Charleroi, he encountered the Prussians, who, after great loss, retreated upon Wavre, where they were followed by the French right wing under Grouchy. On the next day, the left division of the French army had a severe conflict with the English and Dutch at Quatre Bras, after which the British division retreated to Waterloo, where, meeting with reinforcements, was fought one of the severest engagements recorded in history. The French made the attack about noon, and persevered with great fury during the whole day. About four in the afternoon, a Prussian army, under Bulow, arrived on the field, and assisted in checking the impetuosity of the French; at seven o'clock, the remainder of the Prussians under Blucher arrived from Wavre; and assailing the French on their rear to the right, a general confusion in their army took place, and at nine o'clock they fled in disorder towards Charleroi, leaving 30,000 killed and wounded, and A. D. 1815

all their cannon and materials of war in the hands of the victors.

The Prussians continued the pursuit throughout the night. On the side of the allies, the total of killed and wounded was not inferior to that of the French, and among them were many officers of distinction, who had acquired great celebrity during the previous wars.

The English and Prussian armies now advanced rapidly into France, and invested Paris, and in a few days the French provisional government entered into a convention. Louis XVIII., who in the interim had resided at Ghent, at the same time entered his capital; and though there was still a considerable French force in the field and in garrisons, it was reduced to submission in a short time by the armies of Austria and Russia, which had also penetrated France.

Meanwhile Bonaparte, who, after abdicating at Paris in favour of his son, had proceeded to Rochefort for the purpose of embarking for America, *finding it impracticable to elude the vigilance of the British cruisers*, went voluntarily on board a British man of war, which immediately sailed for Torbay. The decision of the British government, in concert with the allies, was, that he should be conveyed to the island of St. Helena, in the southern Atlantic, there to reside as a state prisoner, under the inspection of commissioners appointed by each of the confederate powers.

By the arrangements of the congress, to which lord Castlereagh was deputed on the part of the English government, the seven Ionian islands were placed under the protection of Great Britain; to whose sovereign was also confirmed the title of king of Hanover.

While these important events were passing in Europe, the arms of Britain had achieved some valuable conquests in Asia. A dispute had arisen between the East India Company and the Nepaulese, concerning their boundaries; and the Nepaulese, who were a brave and hardy race, endeavoured to force their pretensions by the sword; but they were overcome by the British troops, directed by the marquis of Hastings, and the whole tract of territory in dispute was ceded to the East India Company.

An important revolution took place at this time in Ceylon. The king of Candy, who possessed the interior of

the island, having alienated the hearts of his subjects by a series of cruelties, and provoked the hostility of his powerful neighbours, was dethroned, and his family excluded from the crown. A treaty was signed in a solemn assembly of adikars and other chiefs of the provinces, by which the dominion of the Candian empire was vested in the king of Great Britain, with a reservation to those chiefs of their rights and immunities.

An event, which gave universal satisfaction, was the marriage of the princess Charlotte of Wales, presumptive heiress to the British throne, to the prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg. A naval expedition was this year undertaken against Algiers, which had refused to abolish christian slavery. The dey commenced hostilities by the seizure and imprisonment of the British vice-consul, and by a most horrible massacre of Christians engaged in the coral fishery at Bona. Lord Exmouth attacked Algiers with a formidable armament; and the dey, after a tremendous conflict, was compelled to accede to the terms of the English admiral.

In England, great distress prevailed, particularly in the manufacturing districts, in which the people suffered from a depreciation of wages, consequent on an almost total stagnation of trade. The public mind was agitated by rumours of plots and conspiracies; and at Derby, a number of persons were tried for high treason, and three of them being found guilty, underwent the dreadful sentence of the law.

The hopes founded on the happy union of the prince regent's only daughter with the prince of Cobourg, were fatally blighted on the 6th of November, by the death of that amiable princess, at a short period after her delivery of a still-born male infant, to the unspeakable grief of the royal family, and the general sorrow of the whole nation.

After a long and severe illness, queen Charlotte, consort of George III., died on the 17th of November. In consequence of her death, the duke of York was appointed guardian of the king's person, with a salary of ten thousand pounds a year.

The spirit of discontent, which had already appeared in the manufacturing districts, now became alarming. A meeting of the people was held at Manchester, on the 16th

of August, for the purpose of petitioning for a reform in parliament, to the number of 60,000, carrying various banners. Mr. Hunt, the chairman, and some others, were arrested on the hustings, and a party of yeomanry cavalry beginning to strike down the banners, a scene of dreadful confusion arose; numbers were trampled under the feet of men and horses; many persons, even females, were cut down by sabres; some were killed, and between three and four hundred were wounded and maimed. The interference of an armed yeomanry for the prevention rather than for the suppression of riot, produced a strong sensation throughout the country; and addresses on this unfortunate affair were prepared in the principal cities and towns in the kingdom.

At the close of the year, it was announced, that the bodily health of the king had partaken of some of the infirmities of age; and on Saturday, the 29th of January, at thirty-five minutes past eight in the evening, his majesty expired without a struggle, in the eighty-second year of his age. Thus terminated, in its sixtieth year, the reign of George the Third, a sovereign who deserved to be emphatically styled the father of his people. Their loyalty and affection were always considered by him as the best and most permanent security of his throne; and by his own example, he promoted among them the practice of those duties which alone could enable them to enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty as guaranteed by the constitution. His habitual piety, and constant trust in Providence, greatly strengthened the natural courage and firmness which he possessed, and for which, on occasions of personal danger, he was so eminently distinguished. If, in matters of state policy, he sometimes evinced a tenaciousness of purpose, which seemed to border on obstinacy, this must be attributed to his strong sense of the obligation under which he considered himself bound, in discharge of the important trust committed to him. He was punctually assiduous in the exercise of his royal functions, and exemplary in the fulfilment of all the social duties. Temperance and exercise secured to him for a long period the enjoyment of uninterrupted health. The English sceptre may have been swayed by sovereigns endowed with more splendid qualities than those of George the Third; but it may be greatly

doubted whether any of his predecessors, since Edward the sixth, has borne his faculties so meekly, or been "so clear in his great office."

CHAP. XXIV.

The reign of George IV.

On the death of the late king, his eldest son, George prince of Wales, who, since the beginning of 1811, had acted as regent of the united kingdom, ascended the throne; and, on the 31st of January, George the fourth was publicly proclaimed. For nine years ^{A. D.} 1820 he had governed the kingdom; and, during that time, the period had been irradiated with military renown. No sovereign, ancient or modern, can perhaps display, within so short a time, such a series of events as occurred during the exercise of the royal functions by the prince regent. When he took the reins of government, the situation of Europe was adverse to the policy of Great Britain, and prospects were by no means cheering. The power of Napoleon seemed strongly consolidated by the subjugation of the continent; but scarcely was unrestricted authority given to the prince, than Napoleon undertook his gigantic and disastrous expedition into Russia, which led to corresponding reverses in Spain, and by successive victories of the British and Spanish armies.

About this time several obscure individuals, at the head of whom was Arthur Thistlewood, entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the king's ministers, at a cabinet dinner, and for this purpose they met in a stable loft in Cato-street; but the plot having been revealed to the privy-council by one who had been associated with them for the purpose of betraying their designs, they were apprehended, and five of them were convicted and executed.

The unhappy differences that existed between the present sovereign and his royal consort, have been noticed in the preceding reign. In 1814, her royal highness embarked at Worthing, and after paying a visit to her brother at the court of Brunswick, she proceeded to Italy, every where receiving the honours due to her rank. On the approach of winter, she fixed her residence at Naples. She afterwards travelled through various parts of the conti-

ment, visited Jerusalem and other towns of Palestine, as well as different places in the Mediterranean.

On the accession of the present king, in consequence of the manner in which she had conducted herself after leaving England, her majesty's name was erased out of the liturgy; and she was informed, that if she returned to this country, judicial proceedings would be instituted against her; but if she would consent to live abroad, the sum of fifty thousand pounds a year would be allowed her. No sooner, however, was this proposition made to her, than the queen immediately proceeded to Calais, accompanied by lady Anne Hamilton and Mr. Alderman Wood; and embarking on board a packet boat which lay in the harbour, she sailed for England, and on the 5th of June landed at Dover, where she was greeted by acclamations of the populace.

On the day of her majesty's arrival in London, the king sent a message to parliament, requesting that an inquiry into the queen's conduct might be instituted, and that certain papers, containing the evidence which had been collected at Milan, might be examined. On this evidence, it was intended to found a bill of pains and penalties against the queen. After much discussion, a secret committee of the house of lords was appointed to examine the documents; and it was fully determined, that her majesty should be tried by the peers of the realm.

During the queen's trial, which continued for forty-five days, the public mind was violently agitated, and the spirit of party extreme. It was urged against the queen, that she had raised a favourite Italian in her employment from a menial station to one of rank and honour; that she had permitted him to take familiarities with her; that, having instituted a new order of knighthood, called "the order of St. Caroline," she had decorated him with its insignia; and that she had otherwise demeaned herself in a manner unbecoming the character and conduct of a British princess. A very small majority of the lords having declared her guilty, the bill was, on the 10th of November, formally withdrawn.

This year, revolutions took place both in Spain and Portugal, with little or no bloodshed; and the despotic governments in the peninsula were changed for others of a more popular form.

Trial of Queen Caroline in the House of Peers.

Napoleon, the ex-emperor of France, died on the 5th of May, in the island of St. Helena, where he had been detained a close state prisoner since his surrender in 1815 to the English government. A. D.
1821

On the 19th of July, the ceremony of the coronation of George the fourth took place in Westminster Abbey. The greatest preparations had been made to celebrate it with becoming splendour; and London never before contained such an assemblage of rank and fashion. This national ceremony was conducted with a magnificence never equalled on any former occasion, and with a degree of order and decorum highly creditable to those by whom the management was superintended. A. D.
1821

The reader has, therefore, been conducted in this volume through a period of nearly TWO THOUSAND YEARS. He found these islands inhabited by tribes of NAKED SAVAGES, and leaves them in possession of the most CIVILIZED PEOPLE on earth, renowned in ARTS, ARMS, COMMERCE, and AGRICULTURE.

He has seen them a prey to ROMAN AMBITION; while, during the last war, Rome itself was captured and occupied even by a small division of British troops! He has beheld them without ships to oppose the invasions of the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans, and he now finds them GREAT ON EVERY OCEAN; and their commercial shipping covering all seas under the protection of a flag every where RESPECTED.

He found their rude population governed by CHIEFS of SMALL TRIBES or CLANS, and has beheld these extended to SEVEN kingdoms in England, two in Wales, one in Scotland, and THREE in Ireland; till, after successive contests of power and patriotism, the whole have been united under ONE SOVEREIGN, whose dominion reaches through numerous colonies to every clime in the four quarters of the world.

He was first introduced to such people as now inhabit THE WOODS of America, in a country equally covered with woods, and LIVING IN HUTS and CAVERNS; but in 1820, he finds a country of MATCHLESS CULTIVATION, abounding in all social improvements, affording examples to other nations of the ARTS of LIFE, and filled with SPLENDID CITIES, PALACES, and PUBLIC EDIFICES. He finds PASTURES in place of FORESTS, enclosed CORN FIELDS ONCE BARREN

HEATHS, and ROADS and CANALS uniting that country, as one whole, which, in the commencement of this History, was in every direction impassable.

In place, too, of the arbitrary will of the STRONGEST, and the LAW of the MOST DARING, he has traced the gradual developement of a system of equal JUSTICE, and the heroic conquest of mind over brutal strength in the firm establishment of a POLITICAL CONSTITUTION, which, when equally balanced in its three estates, will merit the admiration of the world, and the gratitude of the people who are its fortunate subjects.

Above all, he has seen the DARKEST SUPERSTITIONS of savage life yield successively to the LIGHTS of CHRISTIANITY—and the abuses of the Romish Church corrected by a REFORMED ESTABLISHMENT, which, tolerating every variety of opinion, enables all to enjoy perfect freedom of conscience, and corresponding modes of worship.

During this glorious career of humanity, the destinies of the nation have been directed by branches of THE SAME FAMILY. From HENGIST, who married the daughter of VORTIGERN, we trace this family to EDMOND IRONSIDE; and from him, amid various struggles of virtue and vice, through the NORMAN, PLANTAGENET, TUDOR, and STUART families, down to the reigning house of GUELPH, in the person of GEORGE THE FOURTH.

THE END.

* * *Five hundred questions have been prepared, to adapt this volume to the interrogative system of instruction.*

APPENDIX.

I.

SUCCESSION OF SOVEREIGNS.

THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

The kingdom of Kent contained only the county of Kent ; its kings were,

1 Hengist, began	454	10 Edrick	684
2 Eske	488	11 Withdred	685
3 Octa	512	12 { Eadbert and }	725
4 Ymbrick	534	{ Edelbert }	
5 Ethelbert	568	13 Edelbert alone	743
6 Edbald	616	14 Adric	760
7 Ercombert	640	15 Ethelbert Pren	794
8 Egbert	664	16 Cudred	799
9 Lothaire	673	17 Baldred	805

This kingdom began 454, ended 823. Its first christian king was Ethelbert.

The kingdom of South Saxons contained the counties of Sussex and Surrey ; its kings were,

1 Ella, began	491	6 { Cinigsil }	611
2 Cissa	514	{ Quicehm }	
3 Chevelin	590	7 Canowalch	643
4 Ceolwic	592	8 Adelwach	648
5 Ceoluph	597		

This kingdom began 491, ended 685. Its first christian king was Adelwach.

The kingdom of East Saxons contained the counties of Essex and Middlesex ; its kings were,

1 Erchenwin, began	527	8 Sighere and Sebbi	665
2 Sleda	587	9 Sebbi	693
3 Sebert	598	10 { Sigherd and }	694
{ Sexred }		{ Seofrid }	
4 { Seward }	616	11 Offa	700
{ Sigebert }		12 Ceolfred	709
5 Sigebert the Little	623	13 Suithred	746
6 Sigebert the Good	653	14 Sigered	799
7 Swithelme	655		

This kingdom began 527, ended 827. Its first christian king was Sebert.

The kingdom of Northumberland contained the counties of Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland; its kings were,

1 Ella, or Ida, began	547	17 Cenred	716
2 Adda	559	18 Osrick	718
3 Clappea	565	19 Ceolulphe	730
4 Theodwald	572	20 Egbert	737
5 Fridulph	573	21 Oswulph	758
6 Theodorick	579	22 Edildwald	759
7 Athelrick	586	23 Alured	765
8 Athelfrid	593	24 Atheldred	774
9 Edwin	617	25 Alswald I.	779
10 Osrice	633	26 Osred II.	789
11 Oswald	634	27 Atheldred restored	790
12 Oswy	643	28 Osbald	796
13 Ethelward	653	29 Ardulph	797
14 Egfrid	670	30 Alswald II.	807
15 Alkfryd	685	31 Andred	810
16 Osred I.	705		

This kingdom began 547, ended 827. Its first christian king was Edwin.

The kingdom of Mercia contained the counties of Huntingdon, Rutland, Lincoln, Northampton, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Oxford, Chester, Salop, Gloucester, Worcester, Stafford, Warwick, Buckingham, Bedford, and Hertford; its kings were,

1 Creda, began	582	10 Ethelbald	716
2 Wibba	595	11 Offa	757
3 Cheorlas	616	12 Egfrid	794
4 Penda	625	13 Cenolf	795
5 Peada	656	14 Kenelme	819
6 Wolfhere	659	15 Ceolwolf	819
7 Ethelred	675	16 Burnulf	821
8 Kenred	704	17 Ludecan	823
9 Ceolred	709	18 Wiglaf	825

This kingdom began 582, ended 827. Its first christian king was Peada.

The kingdom of East Angles contained the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and the isle of Ely; its kings were,

1 Uffa, began	575	8 Ethwald	659
2 Titillus	578	9 Adwulf	664
3 Redwald	599	10 Alswald	683
4 Erpinwald	624	11 { Beorna and }	749
5 Sigebert	636	{ Ethelbert }	
6 { Egrik }	644	12 Beorna alone	758
{ Annas }		13 Ethelred	761
7 Ethelhere	654	14 Ethelbert	790

This kingdom began 575, ended 792. Its first christian king was Redwald.

The kingdom of West Saxons contained the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, Hants, and Berks; its kings were,

1 Cherdic, began	519	10 { Censua, Escwin, }	674
2 Kenrick	534	{ and Centwin }	
3 Chevline	560	11 Ceadwald	686
4 Ceolric	592	12 Ina	688
5 Ceoluph	598	13 Adelard	726
6 { Kingills }		14 Cudred	740
{ Quinthein }	611	15 { Sigebert and }	
7 Ceonowalch	643	{ Cenulf }	754
8 Adelwalch	648	16 Brithrick	784
9 Sexburga	672	17 Egbert	800

This kingdom began 519, ended 828. Its first christian king was Kingills.

The Saxons, though they were divided into seven kingdoms, were, for the most part, subject only to one monarch, who was styled king of the English nation; the most powerful giving the law unto the others, and succeeded as follows:

HENGIST, first monarch of Britain, landed in the Isle of Thanet, 449; laid the foundation of the monarchy in 455; defeated Vortimer at Crayford, in Jan. 457; massacred 300 British nobles on Salisbury plain, May 1, 474. He bore in his standard the white horse, blazoned in the same manner as now borne by the dukes of Brunswick. He was born at Angria, in Westphalia, reigned 34 years, died in 484.

ELLA, second monarch, landed at Shoreham, in Sussex, in 477; assumed the title of king of the South Saxons in 491; died in 499.

CHERDIC, third monarch, arrived in Britain, and overcame Arthur, near Chard, in Somersetshire, 519; began the kingdom of the West Saxons the same year; died in 534.

KENRICK, second king of the West Saxons, fourth monarch, eldest son of Cherdic, succeeded in 534; and died in 560.

CHEVELINE, third king of the West Saxons, and fifth monarch, succeeded his father, 560; seized on Sussex in 590; abdicated in 591; and died, in banishment, in 592.

ETHELBERT I., fifth king of Kent, and sixth monarch, in 592; St. Augustine first arrived in his dominions, who, with his followers, were entertained by the king at Canterbury, where they settled; to whose doctrine Ethelbert became a convert. He gave Augustine an idol temple, without the walls of the city, as a burial place for him and his successors, which was converted into the first monastery. The king was the first that caused the laws of the land to be collected and translated into Saxon. He died Feb. 24, 617, and was buried at Canterbury.

REDWALD, third king of the East Angles, seventh monarch, 616; he died 624.

EDWIN the Great, king of Northumberland, succeeded as eighth monarch in 624. He was the first christian, and the

- second king of Northumberland. He lost his life in a battle at Hatfield, Oct. 3, 633.
- OSWALD**, third king of Northumberland, and ninth monarch, 634. He was slain at Maserfield, in Shropshire, Aug. 1, 642.
- OSWY**, fourth king of Northumberland, tenth monarch, on Oct. 13, 634. He defeated Penda, the Mercian, and Ethelred, king of the East Angles, Nov. 6, 655. He died Feb. 15, 670.
- WOLFHERE**, sixth king of the Mercians, eleventh monarch, in 670; died 674, and was buried at Petersborough.
- ETHELRED**, seventh king of Mercia, and twelfth monarch, in 675. He desolated part of Kent, and, in 677, destroyed Rochester, and many religious foundations; to atone for which he became a monk, 703, and died abbot of Bradney, in 716.
- CENRED**, his nephew, eighth king of Mercia, and thirteenth monarch, in 704, reigned four years, and following his uncle's example, became a monk.
- CEOLRED**, son to Ethelred, ninth king of the Mercians, and fourteenth monarch, in 709, was killed in battle with the West Saxons, in 716; and was buried at Litchfield.
- ETHELBALD I.**, tenth king of the Mercians, fifteenth monarch, in 716; built Croyland abbey, in Lincolnshire. He was slain by his own subjects, when he was leading his troops against Cuthred, the West Saxon, at Secondine, three miles from Tamworth, in Warwickshire, and was buried at Repton, in Derbyshire, in 756.
- OFFA**, the eleventh king of the Mercians, and the sixteenth monarch, 756. He was born lame, deaf, and blind, which continued till he arrived at manhood. He took up arms against Kent, slew their king at Otteford, and conquered that kingdom. He caused a great trench to be dug from Bristol to Basingwerk, in Flintshire, as the boundary of the Britons, who harboured in Wales, 774. Offa first ordained the sounding of trumpets before the kings of England, to denote their appearance, and require respect. He admitted his son, Egfrýd, a partner in his sovereignty; and, out of devotion, paid a visit to Rome, where he made his kingdom subject to a tribute, then called Peter-pence, and procured the canonization of St. Alban. At his return he built St. Alban's monastery, in Hertfordshire, 793. He died at Offley, June 29, 794, and was buried at Bedford, in a chapel since swallowed up by the river Ouse.
- EGFRÝD**, twelfth king of the Mercians, and seventeenth monarch, July 13, 794; but died Dec. 17 following, and was buried at St. Alban's.
- CENOLE**, thirteenth king of the Mercians, and eighteenth monarch, in 795. He conquered Kent, and gave that kingdom to Cudred, 798. He built Winchcomb monastery, in Gloucestershire, where he led the captive prince, Pren, to the altar, and released him without ransom or entreaty. He died in 819, and was buried at Winchcomb.
- EGBERT**, seventeenth king of the West Saxons, and nineteenth, but first sole monarch, of the English. He conquered

Kent, and laid the foundation of the sole monarchy in 823, which put an end to the Saxon heptarchy, and was solemnly crowned at Winchester; when, by his edict, he ordered all the south of the island to be called England, 827. He died Feb. 4, 837, and was buried at Winchester.

ETHELWOLF, eldest son of Egbert, succeeded his father, notwithstanding at the time of Egbert's death he was bishop of Winchester. In 846 he ordained tithes to be collected, and exempted the clergy from regal tributes. He visited Rome in 847, confirming the grant of Peter-pence, and agreed to pay Rome 300 marks per annum. His son Ethelbald obliged him to divide the sovereignty with him, 856. He died Jan. 13, 857, and was buried at Winchester.

ETHELBALD II., eldest son of Ethelwolf, succeeded in 857. He died Dec. 20, 860, and was buried at Sherborn, but removed to Salisbury.

ETHELBERT II., second son of Ethelwolf, succeeded in 860, and was harassed greatly by the Danes, who were repulsed and vanquished. He died in 866, was buried at Sherborn, and was succeeded by

ETHELRED I., third son of Ethelwolf, in 866, when the Danes again harassed his kingdom. In 889, they destroyed the monasteries of Bradney, Crowland, Petersborough, Ely, and Huntingdon, when the nuns of Coldingham defaced themselves to avoid their pollution; and, in East Anglia, they murdered Edmund, at Edmundsbury, in Suffolk. Ethelred overthrew the Danes, 871, at Assendon. He had nine set battles with the Danes in one year, and was wounded at Wittingham, which occasioned his death, April 27, 872, and was buried at Winborne, in Dorsetshire.

ALFRED, the fourth son of Ethelwolf, succeeded in 872, in the 22d year of his age; was crowned at Winchester, and is distinguished by the title of Alfred the Great. He was born at Wantage, in Berkshire, 849, and obliged to take the field against the Danes within one month after his coronation, at Wilton, in Oxfordshire. He fought seven battles with them in 876. In 877 another succour of Danes arrived, and Alfred was obliged to disguise himself in the habit of a shepherd, in the isle of Alderney, in the county of Somerset, till, in 878, collecting his scattered friends, he attacked and defeated them in 879, when he obliged the greatest part of their army to quit the land; in 897 they went up the river Lea, and built a fortress at Ware, where king Alfred turned off the course of the river, and left their ships dry, which obliged the Danes to remove. He died Oct. 28, 901.

EDWARD the Elder, his son, succeeded him, and was crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames, in 901. In 911, Leolin, prince of Wales, did homage to Edward for his principality. He died at Farringdon, in Berkshire, in 924, and was buried at Winchester.

ATHELSTAN, his eldest son, succeeded him, and was crowned with far greater magnificence than usual, at Kingston-upon-

Thames, in 929. In 938 he defeated two Welsh princes, but soon after, on their making submission, he restored them their estates. He escaped being assassinated in his tent, 938, which he revenged by attacking the enemy, when five petty sovereigns, twelve dukes, and an army who came to the assistance of Analf, king of Ireland, were slain; which battle was fought near Dunbar, in Scotland. He made the princes of Wales tributary, 939; and died Oct. 17, 940, at Gloucester.

EDMUND I., the fifth son of Edward the elder, succeeded at the age of 18, and was crowned king at Kingston-upon-Thames, 940. On May 26, 947, in endeavouring to part two who were quarrelling, he received a wound, of which he bled to death, and was buried at Glastonbury.

EDRED, his brother, aged 28, succeeded in 947, and was crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames, the 17th of August. He died in 955, and was buried at Winchester.

EDWY, the eldest son of Edmund, succeeded, and was crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames, in 955. He had great dissensions with the clergy, and banished Dunstan, their ringleader, which occasions little credit to be given to the character the priests give him. He died of grief in 959, after a turbulent reign of four years, and was buried at Winchester.

EDGAR, at the age of 16, succeeded his brother, and was crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames, in 959, and again at Bath, 972. He imposed upon the princes of Wales a tribute of wolves' heads, that for three years amounted to 300 each year. He obliged eight tributary princes to row him in a barge on the river Dee, in 974. He died July 1, 975, and was buried at Glastonbury.

EDWARD the Martyr, his eldest son, succeeded him, being but 16 years of age; was crowned by Dunstan, at Kingston-upon-Thames, in 975. He was stabbed by the instructions of his mother-in-law, as he was drinking at Corfe-castle, in the isle of Purbeck, in Dorsetshire, on March 18, 979. He was first buried at Wareham, without any ceremony, but removed three years after, in great pomp, to Shaftsbury.

ETHELRED II. succeeded his half-brother, and was crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames, on April 14, 979. In 982, his palace, with great part of London, was destroyed by a great fire. England was ravaged by the Danes, who, in 999, received at one payment about £16,000, raised by a land-tax called Danegelt. A general massacre of the Danes, on Nov. 13, 1002. Sweyn revenged his countrymen's deaths, 1003, and did not quit the kingdom till Ethelred had paid him £36,000, which he the year following demanded as an annual tribute. In the spring of 1008 they subdued great part of the kingdom. To stop their progress, it was agreed to pay the Danes £48,000, to quit the kingdom, 1012. In the space of twenty years they had £469,687 sterling. Soon after Sweyn entered the Humber again, when Ethelred retired to the Isle of Wight, and sent his sons, with their mother Emma, into Normandy, to her brother, and Sweyn took possession of the whole kingdom, 1013.

SWEYN was proclaimed king of England in 1013, and no person disputed his title. His first act of sovereignty was an insupportable tax, which he did not live to see collected. He died Feb. 3, 1014, at Thetford, in Norfolk.

CANUTE, his son, was proclaimed March, 1014, and endeavoured to gain the affections of his English subjects, but without success, retired to Denmark, and

ETHELRED returned, at the invitation of his subjects. Canute returned, 1015, soon after he had left England, and landed at Sandwich. Ethelred retired to the north, but by evading a battle with the Danes, he lost the affections of his subjects, and retiring to London, he expired April 24, 1016.

EDMUND IRONSIDE, his son, was crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames, April, 1016; but by a disagreement among the nobility, Canute was also crowned at Southampton. In June following, Canute totally routed Edmund, at Assendon, in Essex, who soon after met Canute in the Isle of Alderney, in the Severn, where a peace was concluded, and the kingdom divided between them. Edmund did not survive above a month after, being murdered at Oxford, Nov. 30, 1016, before he had reigned a year. He left two sons and two daughters; from one of which daughters James I. of England descended, and from him George IV.

CANUTE was established 1017; made an alliance with Normandy, and married Emma, Ethelred's widow, 1018; made a voyage to Denmark, attacked Norway, and took possession of the crown, 1028; died at Shaftsbury, 1036; and was buried at Winchester.

HAROLD I. his son, began his reign, 1036; died April 14, 1039, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

HARDICANUTE, king of Denmark, who died at Lambeth, 1041; was buried at New-Winchester, and succeeded by a son of Queen Emma, by her first husband, Ethelred II.

EDWARD the Confessor was born at Islip, in Oxfordshire, began his reign in the 40th year of his age. He was crowned at Winchester, 1042; married Editha, daughter of Godwin, earl of Kent, 1043; remitted the tax of Danegelt, and was the first king of England that touched for the king's evil, 1058; died Jan. 5, 1066, aged 65; was buried in Westminster-abbey, which he rebuilt, where his bones were enshrined in gold, set with jewels 1206. Emma, his mother, died 1052. He was succeeded by

HAROLD II. son of the earl of Kent, who began in 1066; defeated by his brother Tosti and the king of Norway, who had invaded his dominions, at Stamford, Sept. 25, 1066; but was killed by the Normans at Hastings, Oct. 14 following.

SOVEREIGNS FROM THE CONQUEST.

Norman Family.

Kings' Names.	Began their Reign.	Reigned Y. M. D.	Age.	Deaths.	Where buried.
W. Conq.	1066 Oct.	14	20 10 26	60	Burst leap.
W. Rufus	1087 Sept.	9	12 10 24	43	Slain accidentally.
Henry . . . 1	1100 Aug.	2	35 3 29	67	
Stephen	1125 Dec.	1	18 10 24	49	

The Saxon Line restored.

Henry . . . 2	1154 Oct.	26	34 8 11	55		Fontevrault.
Richard . . . 1	1189 July	6	9 9 0	43	Slain with an arrow.	Fontevrault.
John	1199 April	6	17 6 13	50		Worcester.
Henry . . . 3	1216 Oct.	19	55 0 28	65		Westminster
Edward . . . 1	1272 Nov.	16	34 7 21	67		Westminster
Edward . . . 2	1307 July	7	19 6 18	43	Deposed and murdered.	Gloucester.
Edward . . . 3	1327 Jan.	25	50 4 27	65		Westminster.
Richard . . . 2	1377 June	21	22 3 8	33	Dep. and mur.	Westminster.

The Family of Lancaster.

Henry . . . 4	1399 Sept.	29	13 5 20	45		Canterbury.
Henry . . . 5	1413 March	20	9 5 11	33		Westminster.
Henry . . . 6	1422 Aug.	31	38 6 4	49	Dep. and mur.	Windsor.

The Family of York.

Edward . . . 4	1461 March	4	22 1 5	41		Windsor.
Edward . . . 5	1483 April	9	0 2 13	12	Smothered.	Tower.
Richard . . . 3	1483 June	22	2 2 0	42	In battle.	Leicester.

The Families united.

Henry . . . 7	1485 Aug.	22	23 8 0	53		Westminster.
Henry . . . 8	1509 April	22	37 9 6	55		Windsor.
Edward . . . 6	1547 Jan.	28	6 5 8	15		Westminster.
Q. Mary	1553 July	6	5 4 11	42		Westminster.
Q. Elizabeth	1558 Nov.	17	44 4 7	69		Westminster.

House of Stuart.

James . . . 1	1603 March	24	22 0 3	58		Westminster.
Charles . . . 1	1625 March	27	23 10 3	48	Beheaded.	Windsor.
Charles . . . 2	1649 Jan.	30	36 0 7	54		Westminster.
James . . . 2	1685 Feb.	6	4 0 7	67	Abdicated.	Paris.
Will. and Mary	1689 Feb.	13	13 0 23	32		Westminster.
Q. Anne	1702 March	8	12 4 24	49		Westminster.

House of Guelph.

George . . . 1	1714 Aug.	1	12 10 10	67		Hanover.
George . . . 2	1727 June	11	33 4 5	77		Westminster.
George . . . 3	1760 Oct.	25	59 3 14	88		Windsor.
George . . . 4	1820 Jan.	31	Crowned July 19, 1821.			

II.

**EMINENT AND REMARKABLE PERSONS WHO
HAVE FLOURISHED IN BRITAIN.**

- ABERCROMBY**, sir Ralph, killed in Egypt, 1801.
Addison, Joseph, born 1672, died June 17, 1719.
Akenside, Dr. Mark, born 1721, died June 23, 1770.
Alban, St. the first English martyr, died 303.
Anson, admiral, died 1762, aged 62.
Arkwright, sir Richard, inventor of the spinning jennies, died August 2, 1792.
Arne, Michael, the musician, died 1785.
Bacon, Roger, born 1214, died 1294.
 ——— **Francis**, lord Verulam, sent to the tower, 1622; died, April 9, 1626, aged 57.
Becket, Thomas, Chancellor to Henry II. 1157; made archbishop of Canterbury, 1162; murdered in the cathedral church at Canterbury, Dec. 29, 1170.
Berkely, bishop of Cloyne, died 1753, aged 73.
Bernard, sir John, died 1764, aged 80.
Blackstone, Judge, born 1723, died Feb. 14, 1780.
Blair, Dr. Hugh, died Dec. 27, 1800, aged 83.
Blake, admiral, born 1589, died 1657.
Bolingbroke, lord, died 1751, aged 73.
Boulton, Matthew, the machinist, born 1728, died Sept. 1809.
Boyle, Robert, the philosopher, died 1691, aged 65.
Bruce, Robert, Scottish general and king, died 1329.
Buckingham, duke of, killed at Portsmouth by Felton, Aug. 23, 1628, aged 35.
Bunyan, John, born 1628, died 1688.
Burke, Edmund, died July 8, 1797, aged 68.
Burleigh, lord Exeter, 1560, died 1598.
Burnet, bishop of Sarum, born 1643, died 1715.
Butler, Samuel, author of Hudibras, born 1612, died 1680.
Camden, the historian, died Nov. 2, 1623, aged 72.
Caxton, William, the first printer in England, 1474, died 1491, aged 70.
Chaucer, Geoffry, born 1328, died 1409.
Chicheley, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, died 1443.
Churchill, Rev. Charles, born 1731, died 1764.
Clarendon, Hyde, earl of, born 1612; banished Dec. 12, 1667; died Dec. 7, 1674.
Clarke, Rev. Dr. Samuel, born 1675, died May 17, 1729.
Coke, lord chief justice, born 1549, died 1634.
Congreve, William, born 1752, died 1729.
Cook, captain James, the navigator, born Oct. 27, 1728; killed Feb. 14, 1779.
Cornwallis, marquis K. G. born 1738, died in India, 1805.
Cowley, Abraham, born 1618, died 1667.

- Cowper, William**, poet, died 1800.
- Cranmer**, archbishop of Canterbury, born 1489, burnt at Oxford, March 21, 1556.
- Cromwell**, lord, beheaded July 28, 1540.
- Defoe, Daniel**, political writer, died 1731.
- Drake**, sir Francis, born 1545; set sail on his voyage round the world, 1577; died Jan. 28, 1595.
- Dryden, John**, born August 9, 1613, died May 1, 1700.
- Evelyn, John**, natural philosopher, born 1629, died 1706.
- Fairfax, sir Thomas**, born 1644, died 1671.
- Fielding, Henry**, English writer, born 1707, died 1754, aged 47.
- Flamstead, John**, astronomer, born 1646, died 1719.
- Foote, Samuel**, died Oct. 21, 1777, aged 56.
- Fox, George**, founder of the Quakers, died 1681.
- Garrick, David**, born at Hereford, 1716, died Jan. 20, 1779.
- Gay, John**, English poet, died 1732.
- Gibbs, James**, architect, died 1754.
- Glover, Richard**, English writer, born 1712, died 1785.
- Goldsmith, Oliver**, born 1731, died April 4, 1774.
- Gray, Thomas**, the poet, born 1716, died July 30, 1771.
- Gresham, sir Thomas**, died 1580.
- Hale, sir Matthew**, born 1609, died Dec. 25, 1676.
- Hampden, John**, born 1594, killed in battle, June 24, 1643.
- Holinshed, the historian**, died 1580.
- Home, John**, born 1724, died Sept. 4, 1808.
- Hotspur, Henry Percy**, killed July 22, 1403.
- Howard, Mr.**, the philanthropist, born about 1725, died Jan. 20, 1790.
- Howe, lord viscount**, slain in America, July 8, 1758, aged 34.
- Hume, David**, philosopher and historian, born 1711, died Aug. 25, 1776.
- Hogarth, William**, died 1765, aged 64.
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel**, born Sept. 18, 1709, died Dec. 14, 1784, aged 78.
- Jones, Inigo**, the celebrated architect, born 1572, died 1651.
- , sir William, died in Bengal, April 27, 1797, aged 47.
- Knox, John**, the reformer, born 1505, died 1572.
- Latimer, bishop of Worcester**, burnt at Oxford, Oct. 1555.
- Leland, John**, the antiquarian, died 1552, aged 45.
- Lowth, Dr. Robert**, bishop of London. learned writer. died 1787.
- Lucius**, the first christian king of Britain, reigned 77 years, founded the first church, in London, at St. Peter's Cornhill, 179.
- Lydgate, John**, the historian, lived in 1440.
- Macklin, Mr. Charles**, the comedian, died July 11, 1797, aged 97.
- Maitland, William**, the historian, died 1757.
- Mallet, David**, dramatic author, died 1765.
- Marlborough, John**, duke of, died June 16, 1722, aged 72.
- Marvel, Andrew**, the patriot, born 1620, died 1678.
- Maskelyne, Neville**, English astronomer, died 1772.

- Maskelyne, Rev. Nevil, astronomer royal, born Oct. 6, 1782, died Feb. 9, 1811.
- Monk, general, born 1608, died January 4, 1669-70.
- Monmouth, duke of, beheaded 1685, aged 35.
- Moore, sir John, killed in the battle of Corunna, Jan. 16, 1809.
- More, sir Thomas, born 1480, beheaded July 6, 1535, aged 55.
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, musical composer, born Jan. 27, 1756, died Dec. 5, 1792.
- Murphy, Arthur, died June 18, 1805, aged 77.
- Nelson, admiral lord viscount, duke of Bronte, killed in battle in the glorious victory off Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805, buried at the public expense, in St. Paul's cathedral, Jan. 10, 1806.
- Newton, sir Isaac, born Dec. 25, 1642, died March 20, 1726—7.
- Northumberland, Dudley, beheaded for attempting to put lady Jane Grey on the English throne, 1553.
- Oldcastle, Sir John, hanged and burnt without Temple-bar, 1418; the first protestant martyr.
- Ormond, duke of, impeached June 21, 1715; retired to France August following; died in France, and was buried May 22, 1749.
- Ossian flourished as a poet in 300.
- Palliser, sir Hugh, died March 19, 1796, aged 75.
- Paris, Matthew, the historian, died 1259.
- Partridge, John, the astrologer, born 1644, died 1715.
- Perceval, Spencer, prime minister of England, assassinated May 11, 1812.
- Pitt, William, earl of Chatham, died May 11, 1778, aged 70, and buried at the public expense in Westminster abbey, June 9, following.
- , William, son of the foregoing, and prime minister of England, died January 23, 1806.
- Plot, Dr. Robert, antiquarian and historical writer, born 1641, died 1696.
- Pomfret, Rev. Mr. the poet, died young, 1709.
- Pope, Alexander, the poet, died 1744, aged 55.
- Pretender, the old, born June 10, 1688, died 1766.
- , the young, his son, born Nov. 31, 1720, died January 31, 1788, without male issue.
- Prior, Matthew, died Sept. 18, 1721, aged 56.
- Raleigh, sir Walter, beheaded October 29, 1618, aged 65.
- Randolph, Thomas, English historian, born 1605, died 1634.
- Rapin, de Thoyras, English historian, died May 16, 1725, aged 64.
- Richardson, Samuel, moral writer, died 1761, aged 72.
- Russel, lord William, beheaded July 21, 1683.
- Reynolds, sir Joshua, died Feb. 24, 1792, aged 69.
- Sacheverel, Rev. Dr. silenced, March 23, 1710, died 1723.
- Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, born 1616; committed to the tower, tried and acquitted, 1688; deprived, 1689; died Nov. 26, 1693, aged 77.
- Selden, John, born 1584, died Oct. 30, 1654.

- Shakspeare, born 1564, died April 3, 1616.
- Sharp, Granville, one of the first who set on foot the inquiry into the African slave trade, died April 3, 1616.
- Shenstone, William, English poet and miscellaneous writer, died 1763.
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, born Oct. 1751, died July 7, 1816.
- Shovel, sir Cloudesly, lost on the rocks of Scilly, Oct. 22, 1707, aged 56.
- Sidney, sir Philip, born 1554, killed in battle Sept. 22, 1586.
- , Algernon, beheaded Dec. 7, 1683.
- Smollet, Dr. Tobias, the historian, died Sept. 17, 1771.
- Spelman, sir Henry, the antiquarian, died 1641, aged 80.
- Spence, Thomas, political economist, died Oct. 1814.
- Spencer, the poet, born 1510, died 1598.
- Steele, sir Richard, died Sept. 1, 1729, aged 53.
- Stillington, bishop of Worcester, died 1699.
- Temple, sir William, died January, 1699, aged 69.
- Thomson, James, died Aug. 27, 1748, aged 71.
- Thurlow, lord, died Sept. 12, 1806, aged 71.
- Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, died 1694, aged 63.
- Tooke, John Horne, born 1736, died March 18, 1812.
- Trenchard, John, born 1662, died 1723.
- Tyler, Wat, the rebel, killed 1381.
- Vernon, admiral, died 1757, aged 73.
- Walker, the Rev. Mr., defended Londonderry, 1689; slain at the battle of the Boyne, 1690.
- Wallace, sir William, eminent Scotch general, killed 1304.
- Waller, Edmund, English poet, died 1687, aged 81.
- Walpole, sir Robert, earl of Oxford, born 1674, died 1745.
- Warwick, earl of, the king-maker, defeated and slain at the battle of Barnet, April 14, 1461.
- Watts, Dr. Isaac, born 1673, died 1748.
- West, James, the antiquarian, died July 2, 1772.
- Whitbread, Samuel, died by his own hand, July 6, 1815.
- Wickliffe, opposed the pope's supremacy, 1377: died 1384; and 40 years after burnt for being a heretic.
- Wilkes, John, the patriot, died Dec. 26, 1797, aged 70.
- William, prince, son of Henry I. lost in his passage from Normandy, 1120.
- Williams, sir Charles Hanbury, English historian and poet, died 1759.
- Wilson, Arthur, the historian, born 1596, died 1652.
- Wolfe, general, killed before Quebec, Sept. 13, 1769, aged 33.
- Wolsey, minister to Henry VIII. 1513, died November 18, 1530, aged 59.
- Woollet, William, the engraver, died May 23, 1785, aged 50.
- Wycherly, William, born 1640, died January 1, 1715—16.
- Wykeham, William of, eminent English prelate, bishop of Winchester, died 1404.
- Young, Dr. Edward, died 1765, aged 81.

III.

BATTLES IN ENGLISH HISTORY.

- Shropshire, when Caractacus was taken prisoner, 51 after Christ.
- Stamford, in Lincolnshire, the first between the Britons and Saxons, in 449.
- Hellston, in Cornwall, and in the Isle of Shepey, between Egbert and the Danes, 834.
- The Isle of Thanet, where the English were defeated, and the Danes settled, 854.
- Assenden, where the Danes were defeated by Alfred and Ethelred, 871.
- Wilton, where the English were defeated by the Danes, 872.
- Bury, between Edward the Elder, and his cousin Ethelwald, 905.
- Malden, between Edward and the Danes, 918.
- Stamford, between Edward, the Danes, and Scots, 923.
- Widendane, between Athelstan, the Irish, and Scots, 938.
- Ashden, between Canute and Edmund, 1016.
- Battle-bridge, between Harold II. and Harfinger, Sept. 25, 1066.
- Hastings, where king Harold was slain, Oct. 14, 1066.
- Alnwick, 1092.
- Northallerton, Aug. 22, 1138.
- Alnwick, 1174.
- Ascalon, Sept. 16, 1191.
- Lincoln, May 19, 1217.
- Lewes, May 14, 1264.
- Evesham, Aug. 5, 1265.
- Dunbar, April 27, 1296.
- Falkirk, July 22, 1298.
- Bannockburn, June 25, 1314; when the English were defeated.
- Halidon-hill, near Berwick, when 20,200 of the Scots were slain, July 29, 1333.
- Cressy, Aug. 26, 1346.
- Durham, when David king of Scotland was taken prisoner, Oct. 17, 1346.
- Nevil's Cross, in Durham, 1347.
- Poitiers, when the king of France and his son were taken prisoners, Sept. 19, 1356.
- Otterborn, between Hotspur and earl Douglas, July 31, 1388.
- Shrewsbury, July 22, 1403.
- Monmouth, March 11, and May 11, 1405.
- Agincourt, Oct. 25, 1415.
- Beauge, where the duke of Clarence and 1500 English were killed, April 3, 1421.
- Patay, under Joan of Arc, June 10, 1429.
- St. Alban's, May 22, 1455.
- Bloreheath, Sept. 22, 1459.
- Northampton, July 19, 1460.
- Wakefield, Dec. 31, 1460.
- Towton, March 29, 1461.
- St. Alban's, 1461.
- Mortimer's Cross, 1461.
- Hexham, May 15, 1463.
- Banbury, July 26, 1469.
- Stamford, March 13, 1470.
- Barnet, April 14, 1471.
- Tewkesbury, May 4, 1471.
- Bosworth, Aug. 22, 1485.
- Stoke, June 6, 1487.
- Blackheath, June 22, 1497.
- Flodden, Sept. 9, 1513, when James IV. was killed.
- Solway, Nov. 24, 1542.
- Hopton-heath, March 19, 1642.
- Worcester, Sept. 23, 1642.
- Edgehill, Oct. 23, 1642.
- Brentford, in 1642.
- Barham-moor, March 29, 1643.

- Lansdown, July 5, 1643.
 Round-away-down, July 13, 1643.
 Newbury, Sept. 20, 1643.
 Alresford, March 29, 1644.
 Cropedy-bridge, June 6, 1644.
 Marston-moor, July 2, 1644.
 Newark, in 1644.
 Newbury, Oct. 27, 1644.
 Naseby, June, 1645.
 Alford, July 2, 1645.
 Kingston, in Surrey, 1647.
 Worcester, Sept. 3, 1651.
 Bothwell-bridge, June 22, 1651.
 Sedgemoor, Aug. 6, 1685.
 Boyne, in Ireland, July 1, 1690.
 Fleurus, July 12, 1690.
 Blenheim, Aug. 2, 1704.
 Tirlmont, 1705.
 Ramilies, Whitsunday, 1706.
 Almanza, in Spain, 1707.
 Oudendard, June 30, 1708.
 Malplaquet, Sept. 11, 1709.
 Almanza, July 16, 1710.
 Denain, in 1712.
 Preston, Nov. 12, 1715.
 Dumblain, Nov. 13, 1715.
 Dettingen, June 15, 1743.
 Fontenoy, April 30, 1745.
 Preston-Pans, Sept. 21, 1745.
 Falkirk, Jan. 17, 1746.
 Roucoux, April 12, 1746.
 Culloden, April 17, 1746.
 Fort du Quesne, July 9, 1755.
 Lake St. George, Sept. 8, 1755.
 Calcutta, June, 1756, and in 1759.
 Plassey, Feb. 5, 1757.
 Minden, Aug. 1759.
 Niagara, July 24, 1759.
 Quebec, Sept. 15, 1759.
 Lexington, near Boston, April 19, 1775.
 Bunker's-hill, June 27, 1775.
 Long-Island, Aug. 27, 1776.
 White Plains, Nov. 30, 1776.
 Brandywine creek, Sept. 13, 1777.
 Saratoga, Oct. 7, 1777.
 Germantown, Oct. 14, 1777.
 Rhode-Island, Oct. 14, 1778.
 Camden, Aug. 16, 1780.
 Guildford, March 16, 1781.
 York-Town, Oct. 29, 1781.
 Seringapatam, 1791.
 Tournay, May 8, 1793.
 Valenciennes, May 23, 1793.
 Cambray, Aug. 9, 1793.
 Lincelles, Aug. 18, 1793.
 Dunkirk, Sept. 7, 1793.
 Quesnoy, Sept. 7, 1793.
 Toulon, Oct. 1, 1793.
 Cateau, March 28, 1794.
 Landrecy, April 24, 1794.
 Cateau, April 26, 1794.
 Ostend, May 5, 1794.
 Tournay, May 18, 1794.
 Maestricht, Sept. 18, 1794.
 Nimeguen, Nov. 4, 1794.
 Quiberon, July 21, 1795.
 Kilkullen. Ireland, May 22, 1798.
 Naas, May 23, 1798, at Stratford-upon-Slaney; at Backestown, May 25; at Dunleven, May 25; at Taragh, May 26; at Carlow, May 27; at Monasterevan, the same day; at Kildare, May 28; at Ballacanoe and at Newtonbury, June 1; at New-Ross, June 5; at Antrim the same day; at Acklow, June 9; at Ballynahinch, June 13; at Ovidstown, June 19; at Ballynarush, June 20.
 Seringapatam, May 4, 1792.
 Maida, July 6, 1806.
 Vimiera, Aug. 21, 1808.
 Corunna, Jan. 16, 1809.
 Oporto, May 11, 1809.
 Talavera de la Reyna, July 27, 1809.
 Buzaco, Sept. 27, 1810.
 Barossa, March 5, 1811.
 Albuera, May 16, 1811.
 Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, May 18, 1811.
 Ciudad Rodrigo, Sept. 25, 1811.
 Salamanca, July 22, 1812.
 Fort George, on the Niagara, May 27, 1813.
 Burlington Heights, June 6, 1813.
 Vittoria, June 21, 1813.

Pyrenees, July 28, 1813.	Chippeway, July 5, 1814.
St. Jean de Luz, Nov. 10, 1813.	Baltimore, Sept. 12, 1814.
Black-rock, Dec. 30, 1813.	Ligny, June 16, 1815.
Toulouse, April 10, 1814.	Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

IV.

SEA-FIGHTS, *since the Spanish Armada.*

BETWEEN the English fleet and the Spanish armada, 1588.	21 large men of war destroyed. May 19, 1692.
In the Downs, with the Dutch, June 16, 1652.	The Vigo fleet taken by the English and Dutch, Oct. 12, 1702.
Again, Sept. 28, Oct. 28, Nov. 29, 1652.	Between the French and English, Aug. 24, 1704.
Off Portsmouth, when admiral Blake took 11 Dutch men of war, and 30 merchant ships, Feb. 10, 1653.	At Gibraltar, when the French lost 5 men of war, Nov. 5, 1704.
Off the North Foreland, when the Dutch lost 20 men of war, June, 2, 1653.	French fleet destroyed by sir George Byng, July 31, 1718.
On the coast of Holland, when they lost 30 men of war, and admiral Tromp was killed, July 29, 1653.	Off Toulon, Feb. 9, 1744.
At the Canaries, when Blake destroyed the galleons, April, 1657.	Off Cape Finisterre, when the French fleet was taken by admiral Anson, May 3, 1747.
Off Harwich, when 18 capital Dutch ships were taken, and 14 destroyed, June 3, 1665.	Off Ushant, when admiral Hawke took seven men of war of the French, Oct. 14, 1747.
The earl of Sandwich took 12 men of war and 2 East-India ships, Sept. 4, 1665.	Off Belleisle, when he took 14 sail of victuallers, July 14, 1756.
Again, when the English lost nine and the Dutch 15 ships, June 4, 1666.	French beaten off Cape Lagos, by admiral Boscawen, Aug. 18, 1759.
At Southwold-bay, when the earl of Sandwich was blown up, and the Dutch defeated by the Duke of York, May 28, 1672.	Off Quiberon Bay, when Hawke defeated the French, Nov. 20, 1752.
Off Beachy-head, when the English and Dutch were defeated by the French, June 30, 1690.	Off Ushant, a drawn battle, between Keppel and Dorvilliers, July 17, 1778.
Off La Hogue, when the French fleet was entirely defeated, and	Near Cape St. Vincent, between admiral Rodney and admiral don Lagara, when the latter was defeated and taken prisoner, Jan. 8, 1780.
	Near Cadiz, when admiral Rodney defeated the Spaniards, Jan. 16, 1780.

Dogger Bank, between admiral Parker and the Dutch, August 5, 1781.

When admiral Rodney defeated the French going to attack Jamaica, and took five ships of the line, and admiral count de Grasse, April 12, 1782.

The same day admiral Hughes destroyed the fleet of France, under admiral Suffrein, in the East Indies.

Lord Howe totally defeated the French fleet, took six ships of war, and sunk several, June 1, 1794.

The French fleet defeated, and two ships of war taken, by admiral Hotham, March 14, 1795.

The French fleet defeated by lord Bridport, June 25, 1795, and three ships of war taken, near L'Orient.

The Dutch fleet under admiral Lucas, in Saldanna Bay, Africa, consisting of five men of war and several frigates, surrendered Aug. 19, 1796.

The Spanish fleet defeated by sir J. Jarvis, and four line of battle ships taken, Feb. 14, 1797.

The Dutch fleet was defeated by admiral Duncan, on the coast of Holland, where their two admirals and 15 ships of war

were taken or destroyed, Oct. 11, 1797.

The French fleet of 17 ships of war, totally defeated, and 9 of them taken, by sir Horatio Nelson, Aug. 1, 1798, near the Nile, in Egypt.

The French, off the coast of Ireland, consisting of 9 ships, by sir J. B. Warren, Oct. 12, 1783, when he took five.

The Dutch fleet in the Texel surrendered to admiral Mitchell, on his taking the Helder, Aug. 29, 1799.

The Danish fleet, of 28 sail, taken or destroyed by lord Nelson off Copenhagen, April 2, 1801.

Between the French and English, in the Bay of Gibraltar: Hannibal, of 74 guns, lost, July 5, 1801.

Sound, between Denmark and Sweden, passed by the English fleet, when Copenhagen was bombarded, April 2, 1801.

French and Spanish fleets totally defeated off Cape Trafalgar, lord Nelson killed in the action, Oct. 21, 1805.

French fleet taken by sir R. Strachan, Nov. 4, 1805.

French fleet defeated in the West Indies, by sir T. Duckworth, Feb. 6, 1806.

DATES OF IMPROVEMENTS AND INVENTIONS.

AIR-BALLOONS introduced into England, and Mr. Lunardi ascended from Moorfields, Sept. 15, 1784; Blanchard and Dr. Jefferies went from Dover to Calais, Jan. 7, 1785.

Apricots first planted in England, 1540.

Archery introduced into England, before 440.

Artichokes first planted in England, 1487.

Asparagus first produced in England, 1608.

Baize manufacture first introduced into England at Colchester, 1608.

BEER.—Ale invented, 1404, B. C.; ale-booths set up in England, 728, and laws passed for their regulation.—Beer first introduced into England, 1492; in Scotland, as early as 1482. By the statute of James I. one full quart of the best beer or ale was to be sold for one penny, and two quarts of small beer for one penny. In 1822 the duties on beer were £2,786,319, and on malt, £5,013,697.

Bells invented by Paulinus, bishop of Nola, in Campagna, about 400. The first tuneable set in England were hung up in Croyland abbey, in Lincolnshire, 960; baptised in churches, 1030.

Bible first translated into the Saxon language, 939; into the English language, by Tindal and Coverdale, 1534; first translation by the king's authority, 1536.

Blankets first made in England, 1340.

Books; a very large estate given for one on cosmography, by king Alfred; were sold from £10 to £30 a piece, about 1400.

Bows and arrows introduced, 1066.

Bread first made with yeast about 1650. In the year 1754 the quartern loaf was sold for 4*d.*; three years afterwards in the year 1757, it rose to 10*d.* and in March, 1800, to 1*s.* 5*d.*, when new bread was forbidden, under the penalty of 5*s.* per loaf, if the baker sold it until 24 hours old.

Bridge, the first stone one, in England, at Bow, near Stratford, 1087.

Buckles invented about 1680.

Calicos first made in Lancashire, in 1772.

Candles, tallow, so great a luxury, that splinters of wood were used for lights; first began to be used, 1290. No idea of wax candles, 1300.

Cannon invented, 1330; first used by the English, 1346; first used in England, 1445; first made of iron in England, 1547; of brass, 1635.

Cauliflowers planted in England, 1703.

Celery first introduced in 1704.

Chairs, sedan, first used in London, 1634.

Cherry-trees first planted in Britain, 100 before Christ; brought from Flanders and planted in Kent, 1540.

Chimneys first introduced into buildings in England, 1200, only in the kitchen, or large hall; smoky, where the family sat round a large stove, the funnel of which passed through the ceiling, 1300.

China made in England, at Chelsea, in 1752; at Bow, in 1758; and in several parts of England in 1760; by Mr. Wedgwood, 1762.

Chocolate introduced into Europe, from Mexico, in 1520.

Cloth, coarse woollen, introduced into England, 1191; first made at Kendal, 1390; medleys first made, 1614.

Coaches first used in England, 1580; an act passed to prevent men riding in coaches, as effeminate, in 1601; began to be common in London, 1605.

Coals discovered near Newcastle, 1234; first dug at Newcastle

by a charter granted the town by Henry III.; first used, 1280; diers, brewers, &c. in the reign of Edward I. began to use sea-coal for fire, in 1350, and he published a proclamation against it, 1398, as a public nuisance. Imported from Newcastle to London in 1350; in general use in London, 1400.

Coffee first brought into England, in 1641.

Coffee-trees were conveyed from Mocha to Holland in 1616; and carried to the West Indies in the year 1726; first cultivated at Surinam by the Dutch, 1718; its culture encouraged in the plantations, 1732.

Coin first made round in England, in 1101; silver halfpence and farthings were coined in the reign of John, and pence the largest current coin; gold first coined in England, 1087; Copper money used only in Scotland and Ireland, 1399; gold coined in England, 1345; groats and half-groats the largest silver coin in England, 1531; in 1347, a pound of silver was coined into 22 shillings, and in 1352, a pound was coined into 25 shillings; in 1414 they were increased to thirty shillings; and in 1500, a pound of silver was coined into 40 shillings. In 1530 they were extended to 62, which is the same now; the money in Scotland, till now the same as in England, began to be debased, 1354; gold first coined in Venice, 1346; shillings first coined in England, 1068; crowns and half-crowns first coined, 1551; copper money introduced into France by Henry III. 1580; the first legal copper coin introduced, which put an end to private leaden tokens, universally practised, especially in London, 1609; copper money introduced into England by James I. 1620; milling coin introduced, 1662; halfpence and farthings first coined by government, Aug. 16, 1672; guineas were first coined, 1673; silver coinage, 1696; broad pieces of gold called in by government, and coined into guineas, 1732; five-shillings and three-penny pieces in gold were issued in 1716 and 1761. Sovereigns were first coined in 1820.

Cow-pox, inoculation by, as a security against small-pox, introduced by Dr. Jenner, 1800.

Creed, Lord's prayer, and ten commandments, first translated into the Saxon tongue, 746.

Currants first planted in England, 1533.

Cider, called wine, made in England 1284.

Distaff spinning first introduced into England, 1505.

England, so named by Egbert, 829; first divided into counties, tithings, and hundreds, 890; the first geographical map of it 1520.

Fairs and markets first instituted in England by Alfred about 886.

The first fairs took their rise from wakes; when the number of people then assembled brought together a variety of traders annually on these days. From these holidays they were called *feriæ*, or fairs.

Fans, muffs, masks, and false hair, brought into England from France, 1572.

Figures in arithmetic introduced into England, in 1454.

Fruits and flowers, sundry sorts before unknown, brought into England in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII. from about 1500 to 1578, as the musk and damask roses, and tulips; several sorts of plum-trees and currant-plants.

Gardening introduced into England from the Netherlands, from whence vegetables were imported, till 1509; musk melons and apricots cultivated in England; the pale gooseberry, with salads, garden-roots, cabbages, &c. brought from Flanders, and hops from Artois, 1520; the damask rose brought here by Dr. Linacre, physician to Henry VIII.; pippins brought to England by Leonard Mascall, of Plumstead, in Sussex, 1525; currants, or Corinthian grapes, first planted in England, 1555, brought from the Isle of Zant, belonging to Venice; the musk-rose, and several sorts of plums, from Italy, by lord Cromwell; apricots brought here by Henry VIII's gardener; tamarisk plant from Germany, by archbishop Grindal; at and about Norwich the Flemings first planted flowers unknown in England, as gilly flowers, carnations, the Provence rose, &c. 1567; woad, originally from Thoulouse, in France; tulip roots first brought into England, from Vienna, 1578; also beans, peas, and salads, now in common use, 1660.

Gas, use of, introduced in London, for lighting streets, 1814.

Glass introduced into England by Benedict, a monk, 674; glass-windows began to be used in private houses in England, 1180; glass first made in England into bottles and vessels, 1557; the first plate glass for looking-glasses and coach windows made at Lambeth, 1673; in Lancashire, 1773; window-glass first made in England, 1557.

Grapes brought to England, and planted first in 1552.

Gunpowder first made in England, 1418.

Hats first made in London, 1510.

Hemp and flax first planted in England, 1533.

Heraldry had its rise, 1100.

Hops, first used in malt liquors in England, 1525.

Horse-shoes introduced into general use in 800; first made of iron, 481.

Inoculation first tried on criminals, 1721.

Iron first cast in England, 1544.

Knives first made in England, 1563.

Lamp for preventing explosion by fire-damp in coal-mines, invented in 1815.

Lanterns invented by king Alfred, 890.

Leaden pipes for conveying water invented, 1236.

Life-boats invented, 1802.

Linen first made in England, 1253. Table linen very scarce in England, 1386.

Lithographic printing brought into England, 1801.

Magic lantern invented by Roger Bacon, 1252.

Magnifying glasses invented by Roger Bacon, 1260.

Mulberry trees first planted in England, 1609.

Muslins first manufactured in England, in 1781.

Navigable canal, the first in England, 1134.

NAVY OF ENGLAND, at the time of the Spanish Armada, was only 28 vessels, none larger than frigates. James I. increased 10 ships of 1400 tons, of 64 guns, the largest then ever built. The list of the royal navy of England was, in the years 1808 and 1817.

King's ships in ordinary	- - - - -	176	370
_____ in commission	- - - - -	627	124
_____ building at different places	- -	66	36
Total,		869	530

Needles first made in England, 1545.

NEWSPAPERS.—First published in England, by order of queen Elizabeth, and was entitled the English Mercury, one of which is remaining in the British Museum, dated July 28, 1588.

A private newspaper, called the Weekly Courant, was printed in London, in 1622.

A newspaper was printed by Robert Barker, at Newcastle, in 1639. The Gazette was first published at Oxford, Aug. 22, 1642.

After the revolution, the first daily paper was called the Orange Intelligencer, and from that to 1662, there were 26 newspapers. In 1709, there were 18 weekly and one daily paper, the London Courant.

In 1795, there were 38 published in London, 72 in the country. 13 in Scotland, and 35 in Ireland; in all, 158 papers.

In 1809, there were 63 published in London, 93 in the country, 24 in Scotland, and 37 in Ireland; making a total of 217 newspapers in the United Kingdom.

New-style introduced into England, 1752.

Paper, the manufacture of, introduced into England at Dartford, in Kent, 1588; scarcely any but brown paper made in England till 1690; white paper first made in England, 1690.

Parish registers first introduced by lord Cromwell's order, 1538.

Park, the first in England, made by Henry I. at Woodstock, 1123.

Penny-post set up in London and suburbs, by one Murray, an upholsterer, 1681.

Pins were first used in England by Catharine Howard, queen of Henry VIII.

Port-holes in ships of war introduced, 1545.

Posts, regular, established between London and most towns of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. 1635.

Post-horses and stages established, 1483.

Post-offices first established in England, 1581; and made general in England, 1656; and, in Scotland, 1695. Increased as follows:

1644 it yielded	£5,000	1764 it yielded	£432,048
1664	21,900	1791	481,880
1697	90,505	1807	1,670,423
1714	145,227	1815	2,349,519
1744	235,495	1822	1,958,806

The first mail conveyed by stage-coaches began Aug. 2, 1785.

Potatoes first brought to England from America, by Hawkins, in 1563; introduced into Ireland by sir Walter Raleigh, in 1586.

- Printing brought into England by William Caxton, a mercer of London, 1471, who had a press in Westminster abbey till 1494.
- Roads in England first repaired by act of Parliament, 1524.
- Sail-cloth first made in England, 1590.
- Saltpetre first made in England, 1625.
- Scenes first introduced into theatres, 1533.
- Shillings first coined in England, 1505.
- Ship.—The first double-decked one built in England, was of 1000 tons burden, by order of Henry VII. 1509; it was called the Great Harry, and cost £14,000; before this, 24 gun ships were the largest in our navy, and these had no port-holes, the guns being on the upper decks only.
- Shoes, of the present fashion, first worn in England, 1633.
- Side-saddles first used in England, 1380.
- Silk manufactured in England, 1604. First worn by the English clergy, 1534.—Broad-silk manufacture from raw silk introduced into England, 1620.—Lombe's famous silk-throwing machine erected at Derby, 1719.
- Soap first made at London and Bristol, 1524.
- Steam-boat established between Norwich and Yarmouth, Nov. 1813.—Steam-boat capable of conveying 3000 persons, commenced its passage between Limehouse and Gravesend, Feb. 1815.
- Stereotype printing invented by William Ged, a goldsmith of Edinburgh, 1735.
- Stirups first used in the sixth century.
- Stone buildings first introduced into England, 674.
- Sunday Schools first established in Yorkshire, 1784: became general in England and Scotland, in 1789.
- Tea, coffee, and chocolate, first mentioned in the statute books, 1660.
- Thread first made at Paisley, in 1722.
- Tiles first used in England, 1246.
- Tobacco first brought into England, 1583.
- Towers, high, first erected to churches, in 1000.
- Turkeys came into England, 1523.
- Watches first brought to England from Germany, 1577.
- Water first conveyed to London, by leaden pipes, 1237.
- Weavers, two, from Brabant, settled at York, 1331.
- Weavers, dyers, cloth-drapers, linen-makers, silk-throwers, &c. Flemish, settled at Canterbury, Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, Maidstone, Southampton, &c. on account of the duke of Alva's persecution, 1567.
- Weights and measures fixed to a standard in England in 1257.
- Wine first made in England, 1140.
- Woolen-cloth first made in England in 1331; medley cloths first made, 1614; first dyed and dressed in England, in 1611.
- Workers, cloth, 70 families of, from the Netherlands, settled in England, by Edward III's invitation, 1330.

VI.

DISCOVERIES AND SETTLING OF BRITISH COLONIES.

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| <p>AMERICA, North, first discovered by Sebastian Cabot, 1497; settled, in 1610.</p> <p>Anguilla in the Carribees, first planted, 1650.</p> <p>Antigua settled, 1632.</p> <p>Baffin's Bay discovered, 1622.</p> <p>Bahama isles taken possession of, 1718.</p> <p>Barbadoes discovered and planted, 1614.</p> <p>Barbuda planted, 1628.</p> <p>Bengal conquered, 1758.</p> <p>Bermuda isles settled, 1612.</p> <p>Boston, in New-England, built, 1630.</p> <p>Botany Bay settlement, 1787.</p> <p>Caledonia, in America. settled, 1699.</p> <p>Canada taken by England, 1759.</p> <p>Cape Breton taken and kept, 1758.</p> <p>Cape of Good Hope taken, 1798.</p> <p>Carolina planted, 1629.</p> <p>Ceylon taken, 1804.</p> | <p>Christopher's, St. settled, 1626.</p> <p>Georgia erected, 1739.</p> <p>Heligoland taken, 1808.</p> <p>Helena, St. settled, 1651.</p> <p>Hudson's Bay discovered, 1607.</p> <p>Jamaica conquered, 1656.</p> <p>Maryland province planted, 1633.</p> <p>Montserrat planted by England, 1632.</p> <p>Nevis planted by England, 1628.</p> <p>New-England planted, 1620.</p> <p>Newfoundland discovered, 1497, settled, 1614.</p> <p>New-Jersey, in America, planted, 1637.</p> <p>New-York settled, 1664.</p> <p>Nova Scotia settled, 1622.</p> <p>Pennsylvania charta for planting, 1680.</p> <p>Sierra Leone coast settled, 1796.</p> <p>Surinam planted by England, 1640.</p> <p>Tobago conquered, 1781.</p> <p>Virginia, settlement of, 1636.</p> |
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Chas. E. Lyza & Adeline

Bacon Boston

1830.

Memorial School

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